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EGER and GRIME

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A MEDIEVAL ROMANCE
OF FRIENDSHIP:
EGER AND GRIME

BY

Mabel Van Duzee

Preface by ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS



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TO HELEN E. LYVERS

"Ful of pite, of trouthe, and conscience."

1.2 English

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Surely the pleasantest of tasks is to say 'Thank you.' For the present book I am aware of how much the expression of thanks must leave unacknowledged—the encouragement of colleagues, the helpful 'businessse' of members of several library staffs, the cheerful forbearance of friends. And to those to whom indebtedness is greatest, any thanks must be inadequate.

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PREFACE

Among Middle English romances *Eger and Grime* is notable for many reasons. Its plot displays unusual symmetry and coherence; its style is natural and comparatively free of clichés. It has received the praise of Bishop Percy and Lowell. Particularly remarkable is the fact that we can discover so much about its history and even its prehistory.

It is unique among the English romances in that we have a record of its performance before royalty, and we know that it was not merely recited, but sung, and the tune became famous. Perhaps it was accompanied on the fiddle. The two surviving versions (one of them in Percy's famous Folio) differ widely in some parts, but accord closely in others, thus revealing a patchwork of oral tradition and of independent composition to fill the gaps in memory.

Behind these divergent oral versions which have been preserved to us there must have been an original literary composition; and it is in the dissection of its elements and in tracing them to their sources that Professor Van Duzee has done an astute piece of literary detective work. A few details of nomenclature suggest that the author of the original poem was influenced by the fashion for things Bohemian which was current in England after the marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia in 1381. Though there is no mention of Arthur and his knights in the poem, it has long been recognized that certain elements in the plot showed a marked affinity to the "Matter of Britain."

Professor Van Duzee has gone much more fully into this field of investigation than earlier scholars, and has shown parallels in *Diu Crone*, the *Didot Perceval*, *De Ortu Walwanii*. Particularly significant is the relation to Chrétien de Troyes's

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Ivain and the Breton *Lai de l'Espine*. That these resemblances were not due to late borrowings by the author of *Eger and Grime*, but to a common ancestral heritage is fully demonstrated. The two principal narrative patterns which are combined to form the plot of *Eger and Grime*, we are led to perceive, are the story of the friendship of Pwyll and Arawn, preserved in the eleventh-century *mabinogi* of *Pwyll Prince of Dyved*, and the much older Irish saga of Curoi Mac Dairi and Blathnat. Thus Professor Van Duzee has given us a connected history of a romance of chivalry, extending from the Dark Ages to its incorporation in Bishop Percy's famous manuscript.

ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"bookes of Romans for to reede." P. vs. 628

In the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland for the year 1497, appears the following record:

Item, the xix day of Aprile, giffin to the Kingis offerand
in Sanct Mawarrokis xiijs.
Item, that samyn day, giffin to tua fithelaris that sang Gray-
steil to the King ix s.¹

The information that James IV, then in residence at Stirling,² did not neglect his offering at St. Marock's chapel³ on April 19, 1497, is of interest to us chiefly because this item dates the second, and so gives the first date on record for *Eger and Grime*.

Half a century later the romance was mentioned in a passage as entertaining as it is instructive from the *Complaynt of Scotlande*, a work of sober purpose dated 1549.⁴ In this passage the author took a "recreative ramble," in the course of which he came upon a party of shepherds having breakfast out-of-doors. The chief shepherd delivered a lecture upon natural science for the instruction of his companions. His wife proposed the telling of stories as a better occupation. The shepherds complied, and the author obligingly listed some of the tales that were told. The author apologized for writing at all and especially for writing in the "domestic scottis langage."⁵ Modern readers, however, may be grateful that he wrote, and pleased with the crackle of his Scottish burr.

Quhen the scheiphird hed endit his prolix orison to the laif of the scheiphirdis. . . . Than the scheiphirdis vyf said, my veil belouit hisband, i pray the to decist fra that tideus melancolic orison, quhilk surpassis thy ingyne, be rason that it is nocht thy facultee to disput in ane profund mater, the quhilk thy capacite can nocht comprehend. ther for, i thynk it best that ve recreat our selfis vytht ioyus comonyng quhil on to the tyme that ve return to the scheip fald vytht our flokkis. And to begyn sic recreatione i thynk it best that euyrie ane of vs tel ane gude tayl or fabil, to pas the tyme quhil euyne. . . . than the eldest scheiphird began, and al the laif follouit, ane be ane in ther auen place i sal reherse sum of ther namys that i herd.⁶

In the list that followed, *syr egeir and syr gryme* appeared as Number 35.⁷ The forty-eight titles included of course the tales then popular in Scotland. Local heroes, classical ones, and the knights of Arthur rubbed elbows companionably, and "syr egeir and syr gryme" stood between "the ryng of the roy Robert" [The Reign of King Robert] and "beuis of southamtoun."

The following year, in 1550, Sir David Lyndsay in his *History of Squyer Meldrum* put Grime and Graysteel in as varied a company. He compared his "worthie Squyer" to Tydeus, who slew fifty knights of Thebes, to Roland, to Gawain, to Oliver, to Sir Grime, who fought against Graysteel, and finally to any knight of the Round Table whatsoever. The passage in praise of Squire Meldrum's valor concludes as follows:

I wait he faucht, that day, als weill
As did Sir Gryme aganis Graysteill.
And I dar say, he was als abill
As onie Knicht of the round Tabill.⁸ Vss. 1317-20.

Lyndsay obviously expected his readers to know just how valiant a fight was necessary to defeat Graysteel. Previously, also, in the Interlude *The Auld Man and His Wife*, written in 1515,

Lyndsay had mentioned Graysteill. Fynlaw of the Fute-band boasted—

This is the sword that slew Gray Steill,
Nocht half a myle beyond *Kynneill*.
I was that noble Campioun,
That slew Schyr Bewas of Sowth-hamtoun.
Hector of Troy, Gawyne, or Golias,
Had nevir half sa mekill hardiness⁹

Here, too, the slaying of Graysteel was apparently regarded as an exploit second to none.

The subsequent popularity of the romance is revealed by occasional references in literary works and in notices of printed editions throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. David Laing in his edition of 1826 recorded these references in a brief history of the poem to which all later students of *Eger and Grime* must be greatly indebted.¹⁰ Especially interesting is a tune entitled "Gray Steel" that was contained, Laing noted, "in a curious Manuscript volume, formerly in the possession of Dr. Burney, entitled 'An Playing Booke for the Lute'" and dated 1627. And a satire on the Marquis of Argyle written in Scottish verse and printed in 1686 was designated as intended to be sung "according to the tune of Old Graysteel."¹¹

From these and other references to Graysteel it would appear that the true hero of the poem in the minds of the Scottish people was the villain of the piece. Admiration for his might and his bravery is suggested by the fact that several times "Graysteel" was used as a nickname for Scottish noblemen. Hume of Godscroft recounted that James V of Scotland was wont to call by this name Archibald of Kilspindy, seventh Earl of Angus, whom he "loved . . . singularly well for his ability of body,"¹² though to be sure, the Earl later incurred his sovereign's displeasure. In the sixteenth century William Earl of Gowrie was once referred to in a letter as Graysteel, and in the seventeenth, Alexander Earl of Eglinton won his right to the name.¹³

In all the early mentions of *Eger and Grime* the admiration

of the writer was for the heroes or their deeds. Later writers, however, have sometimes been aware of the literary qualities of the romance. Bishop Percy, for example, in a communication to Dr. Robert Anderson "for the information of Walter Scott," wrote of it that it was "one of the best of these ancient epic tales [in a list of metrical romances] and little inferior to any in Ariosto."¹⁴ Lowell in his essay on Chaucer paid high tribute. He quoted a passage describing the death of Graysteel and ending—

A little while then lay he still,
(Friends that saw him liked full ill,)
And bled into his armor bright.

"The last line," said Lowell, "for suggestive reticence, almost deserves to be put beside the famous 'Quel giorno piu non vi leggemmo avante' of the great master of laconic narration." But he immediately qualified the praise. His somewhat smug conclusion, from the distance of the nineteenth century, was that such passages, written by "fortunate illiterates," are due to good luck, not to art. "They are wood-strawberries," whose "wild flavor" is "prized in proportion as we must turn over more leaves ere we find one."¹⁵ More specific praise by a less-known critic is found in *The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry*—a frequently wise book written late in the nineteenth century by John Veitch. *Eger and Grime*, Veitch said, is "remarkable for the vividness of its local picturing by the way We are constantly reminded . . . of the actual presence of the scene."¹⁶ More recently Agnes Mure Mackenzie liked *Sir Eger* but praised it with notable understatement. Always lively herself, she called it "a lively affair." "There is some excellent fighting described by a man who knew something about it," she said, "and a practical and lively heroine. The personages, in fact, are not dummies."¹⁷

More significant is the praise of Professor C. S. Lewis, whose literary judgments are frequently astute. Professor Lewis finds the romance "hard, plain, vivid and economical in manner, effortlessly and unobtrusively noble in sentiment. The

adventures," he says, "are as palpable as those in Homer."¹⁸ And again, "It is, of course, a poetry with strict limitations; what we admire is the perfection of taste (as if vulgarity had not yet been invented) and the sureness of touch within those limitations From this sort of heroic narrative we were to descend into fustian about Mars and Bellona."¹⁹

Since today, unfortunately, *Eger* is read more often by scholars working upon its problems than by readers in search of a good story, this estimate of a critic whose concern is with the literary value of the poem is especially to be appreciated. But the scholars busy with questions of language and source have enjoyed the romance, too. The comment of Professor Archer Taylor—"By general agreement *Eger and Grime* is one of the best medieval romances in English"²⁰—may briefly sum up their opinion.

What James IV thought of the performance of the "tua fithelaris" who sang *Graysteil* to him can only be guessed. A lover of literature in many languages and center of a court that Erasmus and Ariosto praised, he was perhaps as pleased with the tale as were his less erudite subjects. At any rate, in the centuries that have followed there is no doubt of the popularity of the romance. Scottish poets of the sixteenth century compared Grime and Graysteel with the most famous heroes of ancient story; Scottish noblemen were called by the name of the champion Graysteel; Bishop Percy compared the romance favorably with the work of Ariosto; Lowell with that of Dante; Mr. C. S. Lewis with that of Homer. So much of the history of *Eger and Grime* is in the records. We shall be concerned chiefly, however, with the history of the romance and the legend behind it prior to the first known date—the nineteenth of April, 1497.

*Extant Versions and Editions*²¹

The earliest extant text of *Eger and Grime* is contained in the Percy Folio Manuscript—that remarkable miscellany, written about 1650 and fortunately rescued by Thomas Percy from Sir Humphrey Pitt's parlor, where the maids had been

using its pages to kindle the fire.²² The Percy text (P) was first printed in 1867 in Volume I of *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, edited by J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall,²³ and this edition was also separately bound.²⁴ The most recent publication of P is in Professor Caldwell's parallel-text edition of *Eger and Grime* in 1933.²⁵

The earliest extant printed edition that has been mentioned up to this time in studies of *Eger* is the black-letter volume published in 1687 which Professor Caldwell found in the Huntington Library²⁶ and published from the Huntington copy in 1933. An edition that antedates this one by eighteen years, however, I have examined in the British Museum. This edition is in a small black-letter volume containing also *Squire Meldrum*, Ferguson's Scottish proverbs, and several other items. The title page for *Eger* reads, in part, "*The History of Sir Eger, Sir Grahame, and Sir Graysteel*, newly corrected and amended, Glasgow, Printed by Robert Sanders," and bears the date 1669. Two leaves of *Eger* (pages 63-66) are mutilated in this British Museum copy. This version of the poem is almost identical with that in the Huntington, and appears to have been an earlier edition of it.²⁷

James Nicol printed *Eger* in Aberdeen in 1711,²⁸ and from a copy of this Aberdeen edition, David Laing reprinted the poem in Edinburgh (1826) in a volume entitled *Early Metrical Tales including the History of Sir Egeir, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray Steill*.²⁹ Since Professor Caldwell found the Huntington version to be the immediate source of Laing's, and since the 1669 version is almost identical with H and not easily available, it is convenient to consider, as Professor Caldwell did, that there are two versions of the romance, Percy (P) and Huntington-Laing (HL). In his parallel text edition, for which all students of *Eger* may be grateful, Professor Caldwell prints P and H and indicates in footnotes the slight variations of L from H.

The priority of the versions must be regarded as still in dispute. Both P and HL are so corrupt and modernized that they may well be very different in language and even in details of incident from the romance which the fiddlers sang to James IV one hundred and fifty years earlier than our earliest text.

Both P and HL are in four-stress couplets, P having 1474 lines and HL 2860. P has been frequently regarded as the better and the closer to the original. Hales in the introduction to his and Furnivall's edition of P asserted that the Folio version was the older and that it presumably did not differ substantially from the original romance in story material, though spelling and language were modernized. He referred to Laing's text as "a much diluted version of the old romance," and quoted Ellis, who recognized the corruption of the 1711 edition, from which he made a detailed abstract, and wrote of it, justly enough, ". . . the story, as it now stands, is so obscurely told, that the catastrophe is quite unintelligible."³⁰ James A. H. Murray in describing *Eger and Grime* in the introduction to his edition of *The Complaynt of Scotlande* found P superior: "By far the best copy is in Bp. Percy's Folio MS."³¹ Elizabeth Willson offered excellent support for believing P to be the older version.³² She showed inconsistencies in L that do not occur in P, amplifications in L that were obvious padding, incomprehensible words in L that appear to be misakes of a scribe taking down a story sung or recited, and a tendency toward allegory in L (e.g., Land of Doubt in L for the Forbidden Land of P) in passages where P has a more realistic treatment. Edith Rickert and Laura Hibbard (Loomis) also considered the Percy version "best and oldest."³³

Other scholars have considered L the more authentic version. Laing, while recognizing that P was "less dilated and prolix" than the one he used, considered that the Aberdeen text was "probably nearer to the more ancient copies than the Bishop's Anglicized transcript, and represents more faithfully the state of the narrative in circulation among the Scottish folk in 'auld lang syne'."³⁴

Reichel in an important article studied passages occurring in one version only, and concluded that L stands nearer than P to an original romance behind both versions, and that the original must be even more full than L, which in turn is much more detailed than P.³⁵

Professor Caldwell agreed with Reichel's conclusion that L is nearer to the original than P. On the basis of Reichel's and

his own study of additions and omissions in two versions, he further concluded that HL represents a composite text in which one imperfect version has been "clumsily patched with scraps of another likewise imperfect version."³⁶ One of these versions of HL contained matter that had already been lost in the version from which HL and P derived their common material. Thus Professor Caldwell's *Stammbaum* pushed back the original *Eger and Grime* to a version earlier than the lost common source of both P and HL, beyond which Reichel's analysis did not go.³⁷

The question of the priority of the two versions does not lie within the scope of this study. It may be noted, however, that Elizabeth Willson's decision in favor of P did not neglect Reichel's analysis, but was based upon a reconsideration of the two versions made after a study of Reichel, and used a method similar to that of Reichel and Professor Caldwell with an opposite result. Moreover, Dorothy Everett mentioned a point of interest. Professor Caldwell found that both P and HL contained many alliterative lines, P having according to his figures a somewhat larger proportion than HL. Presumably, this alliteration would be carried over from the original poem. It is surprising, then, that P, which Professor Caldwell considered the later version, should have the larger proportion of alliterative lines. Professor Caldwell "might well have taken this into account," Dorothy Everett said, "in discussing the relationship of the two versions."³⁸

The present book will be concerned largely with the tradition behind *Eger and Grime*—a tradition that antedates a written stage of the romance. For this reason the priority of the two known versions becomes here less important than the background of the legend underlying both. It is an accepted principle in the study of oral tradition that a later version may often contain material that an earlier version has lost. Thus I have used material in both versions, selecting for every point considered the version that appears to be earlier. It will become apparent in the following pages, however, that Version P nearly always represents the early tradition and that the additional verses and incidents in HL obscure rather than clarify the pat-

tern. Thus the evidence of traditional material in the poem, I believe, supports the conclusions of Hales, Murray, Elizabeth Willson, Edith Rickert, and Laura Hibbard (Loomis) that the Percy manuscript contains the better and older version.

Provenience

That *Eger and Grime* is a Scottish romance has been very generally accepted. The mention of it in the records of the Treasurer of Scotland in 1497 and in the *Complaynt of Scotlande* in 1549 would, of course, prove not that it originated in Scotland, but only that it was popular there very early.³⁹ David Lyndsay's confident assertion in *The Auld Man and His Wife*, dated 1515, that Graysteel was slain "nocht half a myle beyond Kynneill"⁴⁰ creates at best a presumption of Scottish authorship. John Taylor's reference (1623) to *Sir Degre, Sir Grime, and Sir Gray Steele* as having the same popularity in Scotland that the heroes of other romances enjoyed in their respective countries⁴¹ assumes that the romance was written in Scotland. Sir Walter Scott's statement that the language is "unquestionably Scottish and the scene is laid in Carrick, in Ayrshire"⁴² may be an unwarranted guess based upon the similarity in sound of Carrick to Garwick, the land of which Grime was lord. David Laing's reference to it as forming one of the "standard productions of the vernacular literature of the country,"⁴³ and Reichel's unexamined acceptance of Scottish origin in the title of his thorough study ("Studien zu der schottischen Romanze . . ."), 1894,⁴⁴ are indicative of the way in which students of the romance have uncritically assumed that it is of Scottish composition.

Edith Rickert was the first to study the provenience of the romance. Using proper names and geographical description in the poem and believing that David Lyndsay's "Kinneill" referred not to Kinneill in Linlithgowshire but to the Kinnell, a stream in Dumfriesshire, she made a good case for composition in a border district along the Solway between the Esk and the Sark.⁴⁵ Her analysis suggests a method which may in future

studies yield more conclusive results. Elizabeth Willson also believed that "the story was localized in the border country."⁴⁶

Basing his conclusions on a study of rimes in the poem, Professor Caldwell decided that the original of HL and P was in Scottish dialect not of southern but of northern or central Scotland.⁴⁷ His conclusions, however, have been pretty generally challenged. Dorothy Everett, Hans Marcus, Professor Archer Taylor, and Professor Basilius have all questioned the validity of Professor Caldwell's linguistic analysis, and have felt his conclusions to be based upon insufficient evidence.⁴⁸ Both Professor Taylor and Professor Basilius pointed out that since both texts are late and rewritten, it is unsafe to draw inferences, as Professor Caldwell did, regarding an unknown original from rhymes found in only one text. Only those common to both texts can be relied upon. The only safe inference to be drawn from the rhymes, Professor Basilius concluded, is that "*Eger and Grime* originated somewhere in the north, that is, either in northern England or in Scotland."⁴⁹

Thus the problem of provenience remains unsolved. The reference in the account books of the treasurer of Scotland in 1497, Lyndsay's reference to Kinneill, Scott's confident assertion of Ayrshire as the place of origin, Edith Rickert's evidence for the Solway district, Professor Caldwell's case for northern or central Scotland—all of these indications, though conflicting and inconclusive, point nevertheless to the probability that by the fifteenth century there was a Scottish romance of Sir Eger, Sir Grime, and Sir Graysteel. Of this Scottish stage, as of earlier stages, of the romance, the conclusion of this study will have something more to say.

Summary of Eger and Grime

To understand the origin of the story material, we shall need a rather full summary of the romance. The following abstract is based on the Percy version,⁵⁰ but indicates in parentheses some significant departures of HL from P.

In the land of Beame (HL, Bealm) lived Earl Bragas (HL, Earl Diges), greatest of renown save the king himself. His daughter Winliane (P, Winglayne) would marry only a man who was successful in every battle he fought. Two young knights, Sir Grime (HL, Grahame), lord of Garwick, and Sir Eger served Earl Bragas. These knights were sworn brothers, who loved each other well. Sir Eger had won the love of Earl Bragas' proud daughter Winliane.

Eger once fared forth upon an adventure, from which he returned one night sorely wounded. Grime was amazed that so valiant a man could have suffered defeat. When Grime questioned him, Eger recounted his adventures.

Having heard tales of a brave knight who kept a "forbidden country," Eger had crossed one of the two fords over a river and had ridden into the forbidden land. Soon he had heard a noise in the gravel ("greete") and had met a very large knight wearing magnificent red arms and riding a remarkably large red horse. The two knights had fought fiercely and Eger had come off badly. When he had regained his senses after having swooned for loss of blood, he had seen that he was near a river and had discovered that the little finger of his right hand had been cut off. A slain knight had lain near by whose little finger had also been cut off—an indication that he had encountered the same enemy as Eger.

Eger had ridden all day and at night had come to a beautiful castle. A lady of surpassing beauty, Loosepine (HL, Lillias), had come from an arbor to greet him, had led him, with two ladies attending, to a chamber, had dressed his wounds, and had played sweet music to him till morning. Then she had given him a horn filled with a grassgreen drink of such magic potency that straightway his wounds had been healed. Eger had taken leave of the lady and departed. In his own land the wounds had broken out afresh, and Eger had returned home sore and humiliated. The champion who had defeated him was named Graysteel.

While Eger told his story of misfortune, Winliane had wakened, taken her scarlet mantle, and listened outside Grime's chamber to the story of Eger's defeat. As she slipped away

quietly, Grime saw her, but concealed the knowledge of her presence from Eger. Grime invented a story to explain Eger's wounds to Earl Bragas, but the haughty Winliane showed no pity, and only taunted Grime with Eger's humiliation.

Out of friendship for Eger and to save his friend from Winliane's scorn, Grime proposed a plan to which Eger reluctantly gave consent. According to the plan, Grime's brother Palyas (HL, Eger's brother) should aid in vindicating Eger's honor. Grime and Eger should exchange armor, and Grime, disguised as his friend, should encounter Graysteel in Eger's place. Palyas readily consented to assist the two knights and warned Grime that special weapons would be needed to defeat Graysteel. Eger's uncle Sir Egrame or Egramie (HL, Agam) while he lived had owned a sword so noble that no man alive could endure the wind of it before his face. The lady now in possession of this weapon (Egrame was said to have secretly loved her) had it in keeping till her son should be able to wield his father's brand. Next day Grime went to the lady and persuaded her to lend the sword, Erkyin, or Egeking, for Eger's use in the battle against Graysteel. (HL, Grime took leave of the lady and went to Vaclaw.)

Grime continued preparations for his approaching adventure with Graysteel. Eger explained that Grime might recognize the lady by certain "tokens": She had a red spot the size of a pin between her eyes. Next morning the two knights made the exchange of arms, and Eger, in the guise of Grime, went to a window to read romances where all might see him, and Grime took his leave and departed. Everyone, including Winliane, mistook him for Eger.

No sooner had Grime gone than Winliane went to Grime's chamber and talked to Palyas scornfully of Eger's pretended bravery. Eger, behind drawn curtains, heard her "lowte him like a knave." Palyas, to prove Eger's valor, told her of an encounter in which Eger had killed a heathen soldan Gornordine, and so won the gratitude of the King of Beam. After having killed Gornordine, Eger had himself been rescued from the heathen by Kay of Kaynes. (The soldan adventure in P only.)

Meantime, Grime fared on his way until he came to a garden, where he recognized Eger's lady among many others by the token Eger had mentioned to him. For a time deceived into believing him to be Eger, Loosepine discovered the disguise by noting that the little finger of the right hand had not been cut off as Eger's had been. Grime then explained the impersonation to her. She accepted his explanation and entertained him most graciously. She explained that she too wished vengeance upon Graysteel, who had killed her husband Attelston (HL, Alistoun) on the day she married him, and also her brother, who had tried to avenge Attelston's death. She therefore gladly instructed Grime in the secret of Graysteel's strength: every hour from midnight till noon his strength increased by the strength of a man; every hour from noon until midnight it decreased accordingly. Moreover, Grime must make his first stroke bravely.

Next morning Grime departed. He chose one of the two fords over the river and rode into Graysteel's land. Graysteel learned of his approach, and swore that he should not go home for a year without either fighting or leaving a pledge behind. Attendants armed Graysteel most splendidly, and on a "furley" (marvelous) steed he rode to meet Grime. The two fought a terrible battle, but Grime remembered the lady's instructions and used his sword Egeking to good advantage. With an "arkward" (backward) stroke he struck Graysteel a mighty blow. After further fighting, Graysteel finally lay slain. Grime looked and saw that the steeds were fighting as their masters had done. He cut off Graysteel's hand, took Graysteel's steed and his own, and returned to the lady's dwelling. He presented the hand to her. She saw that it was red ("red rowed") with extra fingers and a gay gold ring on every finger. With the consent of Loosepine's father, Earl Gares (HL, Gorius) Grime and Loosepine plighted their troth (Grime "handfasted that faire Ladye").

Grime went home, told Eger the news of Graysteel's defeat, and the two ended their disguise. All joined in celebrating Eger's supposed victory. The proud Winliane received Eger humbly, and the two were married. Grime returned to Earl

Gares' land and married Loosepine. Graysteel's fair daughter Emyas was married to Pallyas (in P only), and all lived happily.⁵¹

Sources of the Story Matter

Several scholars have speculated upon or discussed the sources of the romance. An early speculation is from the pen of Sir Walter Scott, who mentioned the poem in the introduction to his edition of *Sir Tristrem*. Of two Scottish romances—*Gawen and Gologras* and *Galoran of Galoway*—it seemed probable, he said, that like *Sir Tristrem* "they were compiled by Scottish authors from the Celtic traditions, which still floated among their countrymen." And he continued, "to this list, we might perhaps be authorised in adding the *History of Sir Edgar and Sir Grime*."⁵² Though not everything that Scott said about these romances would hold in the light of modern scholarship, his recognition of Celtic material in *Eger and Grime* has been more than confirmed. Hales, whose introduction to the romance in the 1867 edition of the Percy manuscript was consistently lacking in perspicacity, though commendably enthusiastic, quoted Scott and commented, "We see no reason for referring it to Celtic traditions."⁵³ With greater acumen Schofield noted that *Eger* was "a story of the *Iwain* type"⁵⁴—an observation that of course acknowledged its Celtic origin. Edith Rickert, on the contrary, in the introduction to her free translation of the Percy version, thought that the story was "fundamentally Teutonic,"⁵⁵ though she recognized some Celtic elements.

The first analysis of the material was made by Elizabeth Willson in an unpublished master's dissertation at the University of Chicago (1914).⁵⁶ Miss Willson considered the basic plot of *Eger and Grime* an Otherworld journey, and supported her conclusions with a wealth of illustrations. Though available only at the University of Chicago library, this is a significant contribution to studies of *Eger* because it took cognizance of and demonstrated the Celtic basis of the romance.

Laura Hibbard (Loomis) in *Medieval Romance in England* (1924) made more definite than had been done the

Celtic connections of the story.⁵⁷ She noted that "it belongs with the group of Fairy Mistress stories,"⁵⁸ demonstrated its structural similarity to *Iwain*, identified certain Celtic motifs, and suggested relationships to various Celtic traditions and romances of Celtic origin. Her brief analysis was of great value in pointing the way for future investigation.

Professor Caldwell in his parallel-text edition has made by far the most extensive study of the story material of *Eger and Grime*.⁵⁹ His primary thesis was that the plot was derived from purely Celtic sources (not Celtic and Teutonic) and that it "is based upon a Celtic (probably Scottish) version of the very widespread folk-tale, *Die Zwei Brüder*."⁶⁰ The "brotherhood" of the two heroes would thus be fundamental, and the presentation of it as sworn brotherhood would represent a change due to the influence of chivalric convention.⁶¹ The plot of *Eger and Grime*, according to Professor Caldwell's theory, has however undergone "one very radical modification"⁶² from the type tale of the Two Brothers given in Grimm. For the simple turning to stone of one of the brothers, the romance substitutes an elaborate Celtic Otherworld journey of the hero Eger, and later of Grime. Professor Caldwell found parallels for this combination, and on the basis of one detail—the amputation of the hero's little finger—concluded that a Scottish folktale appearing to be a version of the Two Brothers was probably the source of *Eger* and its analogues.⁶³

With Professor Caldwell's theory Professor Archer Taylor has taken issue on the ground that the analysis, though very ingenious, is based on too few versions of the Two Brothers story. And he expresses "grave doubts about the wisdom" of Professor Caldwell's decomposition of the story into two independent tales—a division basic to the argument.⁶⁴ Actually, Professor Caldwell's important conclusion that the source of *Eger and Grime* was a Scottish folktale is made largely on the basis of three tales—a small number when one considers that Kurt Ranke's analysis of *Die Zwei Brüder* was based on 621 variants of the 770 he knew.⁶⁵ Professor Caldwell's perception of similarity between the Two Brothers and *Eger* and its analogues was, however, astute, and a basic relationship no

doubt exists.⁶⁶ But the question is one for trained folklorists, working with caution and with the very extensive literature of the subject at hand.

On the other hand, the similarity of *Eger* to the mabinogi of *Pwyll* may be examined at closer range with rewarding results. Elizabeth Willson and Professor Caldwell briefly noted a resemblance of *Eger* to *Pwyll*, and Professor Loomis indicated a more specific relationship;⁶⁷ but the similarities have not been studied. I should like to investigate the parallels between the romance and the Welsh story. To do so will involve tracing a common pattern of events and traits of the dramatis personae through a number of romances, ballads, and a Breton *lai*. This examination will reveal intricate relationships that can be specifically demonstrated. I hope to show that these relationships can be best accounted for by a common tradition—a Welsh oral tradition of a combat at a ford that is fortunately preserved in the first episode in the mabinogi of *Pwyll*. By this tradition I believe that the central plot of *Eger* can be best explained.

But though the basic plot of *Eger* may be accounted for by its derivation from the *Pwyll* tradition, this tradition by no means exhausts the Celtic influences upon the romance. Other Welsh traditions and a group of Irish stories dealing with the exploits of Curoi mac Dairi will be found to shed light upon the appearance and behavior of characters in *Eger and Grime*.

Moreover, the analysis of these traditions should make clear what has not hitherto been apparent—the close relationship of the romance to the *matière de Bretagne*. Characters in the romance may be seen to have fallen heir to traditions belonging to well-known figures in the Arthurian cycle. In a stage considerably earlier than that of the extant versions, *Eger and Grime* may conceivably have been an Arthurian romance.

Further, the setting of the poem in the "land of Beame" gives a clue to several proper names that may be identified as Bohemian. Thus a slight and hitherto unnoticed Bohemian influence is found to lend a piquant flavor to *Eger and Grime*.

These points, then, define the aims of the present book—to examine more specifically than has been done the Celtic

materials that have entered into *Eger and Grime*; in so far as may be possible, to indicate the general steps by which the Celtic traditions found their present form in a Scottish romance; to demonstrate the relationship of the romance to the Arthurian cycle; and finally to note traces of Bohemian influence on personal names and place names.

If it can be shown that the shaping influence behind the plot of *Eger* was the Welsh tradition recorded in *Pwyll*, and that other Welsh and some Irish traditions not previously studied in their relation to the romance have been important elements in its history, then this study may make its slight contribution to what Kittredge once called "a large induction which aims to determine the position of Celtic popular literature in the letters and consequently in the life and culture of the civilized world." ⁶⁸

CHAPTER II

PWYLL: THE TRADITION

*'A year from to-night,' said he, 'there is a tryst
between him and me, at the ford. And be thou there
in my likeness.'* *Pwyll Prince of Dyfed*¹

The Four Branches of the Mabinogi

In order to understand the relationship of *Eger and Grime* to the Welsh tradition of the ford combat, we must know something of the background of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*. Remote though the origins of these tales may be, certain facts and theories about them emerge from the scholarship of the last hundred years and more.² The stories are, as Nutt said, "genuine and characteristic examples of the Celtic genius."³ Certainly, too, the *Four Branches* represent but a small part of the legendary material current in Wales during the time when the stories were forming, and in them traditions varying in origin have blended to form a new unity. "As we have them," Nutt said, "they undoubtedly represent a fusion of originally independent cycles; in the process of fusion much has been lost, much distorted."⁴ Anwyl, Ifor John, Loth, Gruffydd, and other scholars have come to a similar conclusion,⁵ and have believed that the *Four Branches* are the result of a composite growth.

In the tales that have fused in the *Four Branches*, we may believe, too, that we are dealing with a primitive mythology, but a mythology rationalized, adulterated, until it is all but unrecognizable.⁶ Something of what may have happened Gruf-

fydd has traced.⁷ Local legends were superimposed upon the mythical foundations of the tales,⁸ so that stories told of the gods came to be told of human beings who were originally historical, or were at least believed to be historical. "Mythology," Gruffydd has said, "is the legend of gods, and legend is the mythology of men."⁹ Easily and naturally, where the stories were handed down in local tradition, myth and legend blended. And the blend, preserved in local tradition, took on the "indefinable charm of local atmosphere"¹⁰ that a folk tradition may best communicate. Later, the story-teller, or *cyfarwydd*, traveling from one court to another, arranged the tales and added sophisticated touches of literary tradition, or description of dress, buildings, landscape. In spite of the complexity of the material, however, the stories in their final written form are the work of one author, probably a *cyfarwydd* of South Wales—a man who has put the stamp of his own genius upon the tales and the characters in them.¹¹ The Mabinogi as we have it may well be called an epic because, as Gruffydd said, "it bears the marks of all other epics such as the *Odyssey* . . . it is the final arrangement and harmonizing of contradictory oral material."¹²

To the understanding of the *Four Branches* a study of the kinship between early Irish and Welsh literature has contributed greatly. Incidents in Welsh tales have been shown to be related to similar incidents in Irish stories, and characters in the *Four Branches* have been identified with characters in Irish literature. Thus Gruffydd has convincingly shown that Irish story material has penetrated *Math*, Proinsias MacCana has added Irish elements to the Irish borrowings previously known to be found in *Branwen*,¹³ and it is generally recognized that the Children of Don are fundamentally the same as the Irish Tuatha De Danaan.¹⁴ The resemblances in the stories we know point to closer similarities in the earlier stages of the narratives.

These more fundamental resemblances may be best explained by a stock of very ancient tales shared by the two closely related branches of Celtic peoples that later came to be called Irish and Welsh.¹⁵ To this common tradition Cecile O'Rahilly

adds as an influence shaping the fundamental *données* of the tales the similarity of historical and social conditions in which the two literatures developed.¹⁶

And besides these deeper similarities are more superficial resemblances that point to a later Welsh borrowing from Irish sources. So in the thirteenth century *Book of Taliesin* a bit of Welsh verse called *The Death Song of Corroi M. Dayry* proves Welsh knowledge of the Irish hero and indicates a later borrowing from Irish stories.¹⁷

We may believe that the term *mabinogi* means "a tale of a hero."¹⁸ It is a term parallel in its derivation and use to the French *enfances*, the Latin *infantia*, or the Irish *mac-gnímartha*. The *mac-gnímartha* or "boyish exploits" of Cuchulainn and the *enfances* of Perceval are familiar uses of the parallel Irish and French words. In early Welsh literature the term seems to have been extended from meaning the story of a hero's youth to meaning the story of his whole life—the "tale of a hero."¹⁹ The manuscripts do not use the term *mabinogi* for any of the Welsh tales except the *Four Branches*, and it is to these tales only that the term should properly be limited.

Although the action of the *Four Branches* is, as Mrs. Bromwich has said, "set in the timelessness of the remotest past," the extant form of the tales is that given them by their final redactor, probably in the second half of the eleventh century. Somewhat more specifically, Sir Ifor Williams has dated them between 1055 and 1063.²⁰ Of the *Four Branches*, *Pwyll* has fewest signs of late influence, and to it, in the opinion of Gruffydd, priority may be confidently assigned.²¹

The Combat at the Ford in Pwyll

The tradition that has most deeply influenced *Eger and Grime* is the combat at the ford, the first episode of the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll*. A comparison of the plot of the romance with that of *Pwyll* will reveal the similarities. The following summary of *Eger and Grime* omits all but the main elements of the plot.²²

Eger and Grime, two young knights of noble birth, were bound by ties of sworn brotherhood. One night Eger returned home sorely wounded and told Grime of his humiliating defeat in a battle beyond a ford. His antagonist had been a very large knight, splendidly armed and riding a remarkable horse. This knight, Graysteel, had explained that he was lord of a forbidden country. A lady, Loosepine, living in a beautiful castle and possessed of more than mortal beauty, had graciously entertained Eger. Grime, motivated by friendship, proposed that he should exchange armor with Eger and fight Graysteel in Eger's place. Eger accepted Grime's offer, and Grime departed to the 'forbidden country' to meet Graysteel. Loosepine received him hospitably. Momentarily deceived as to his identity, she soon discovered that he was not Eger. Grime explained the impersonation to her. Hearing of Grime's arrival, Graysteel declared, "This one yeere he shall not goe home" without paying for his boldness. While spectators watched the battle, Grime encountered Graysteel and defeated him. Grime returned home victorious. He and Eger ended the disguise and assumed their own roles.

A somewhat fuller summary of the *Pwyll* episode will be convenient.

One day, while hunting, Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, saw a pack of white hounds with shining red ears run down a stag in a glade. Pwyll drove away the pack and baited his hounds on the stag. A knight on a large gray horse and in hunting garb of gray wool rode into the glade and rebuked Pwyll for his discourtesy in setting his own dogs upon the quarry of the other pack. Pwyll asked the stranger who he was and how he might gain his friendship. The stranger replied that he was Arawn, a king of Annwn (the Celtic Otherworld). He would overlook Pwyll's discourtesy and make a bond of

friendship with him if Pwyll would fight a battle in his stead with Hafgan, a king of Annwn who was continually making war upon him and with whom he had engaged to fight a battle at the ford a year from that night.

Arawn then instructed Pwyll in the conduct of the battle. Pwyll must strike Hafgan one deadly blow. However Hafgan might entreat him, Pwyll must not give him a second stroke. Arawn would put his form upon Pwyll and in his turn would assume Pwyll's form, and in the year intervening before the combat, each should govern the other's kingdom. In Arawn's land Pwyll should have a fair lady to be his companion. One year from the following day the two should meet in the same place. Pwyll gladly agreed to these terms.

[The exchange of form was made.] Arawn conducted Pwyll until they came in sight of the court. Then Arawn departed. Arawn's household welcomed Pwyll, mistaking him for Arawn. The buildings were the most beautiful Pwyll had ever seen, and the Queen the fairest woman that anyone had ever beheld. Supposing Pwyll to be her husband Arawn, she entertained him graciously at an abundant feast in the palace. That night and each night of the year Pwyll lay with her, but loyal to Arawn, turned his back upon her.

At the end of the year Pwyll met Hafgan at the ford in the presence of Arawn's and Hafgan's men, and dealt him a mortal blow. Next day he met Arawn at the scene of their first meeting. They welcomed each other joyfully, and Arawn restored Pwyll and himself to their own forms. That night Arawn's wife expressed her surprise at Arawn's caresses, since she had been unaccustomed to them for a year. Arawn then understood Pwyll's fidelity, and explained to his wife all that had happened. Thereupon Arawn and

Pwyll made strong the bond of friendship between them and celebrated it by liberal gifts to each other.²³

If all points not in *Eger* are omitted from the *Pwyll* incident, the following elements common to both *Eger* and *Pwyll* remain:

1. One man had been defeated by a supernatural opponent. (Hafgan was a king of Annwn; Graysteel was lord of a "forbidden country," and his strength waxed and waned as the sun rose and set.)

2. A second man, impersonating the first, undertook to fight the mighty opponent.

3. Friendship was the motive for the second man's undertaking the battle.

4. A year's interval was to elapse before the second combat. (Definite in *Pwyll*; suggested in Graysteel's comment before the battle with Grime: "this one yeere he shall not goe home." P, vs. 950)

5. The combat took place at a ford (P); beyond a ford (E).

6. The second man, disguised as the first, slew the champion in the combat at or beyond the ford.

7. The hero was entertained by a hospitable lady in a palace beyond the ford.

8. The disguise and the reason for it were explained to the hospitable lady.

9. After the battle the two men resumed their own roles.

The common pattern of events in *Eger* and *Pwyll* is striking, and the similarities warrant an investigation of specific relationships between them. But first it will be necessary to look at the background of the ford combat in *Pwyll*. This background, to be sure, belongs to centuries much earlier than the time when *Eger and Grime* was composed, and yet these remote origins are significant for an understanding of the late Scottish romance.

The *Pwyll* ford combat, brief though it is, illustrates well the heterogeneous matter in the *Four Branches*. The main elements appear to be a story of the Irish god Manannan and, quite possibly, a Welsh myth of the seasons. Parts of both stories have been lost, and the superimposing of one tradition upon the other may account for other important changes. Local legend, too, has played its part. Annwn, the Welsh Otherworld, appears in *Pwyll*, located in southwest Wales. Pwyll, probably once a god, is a prince of Dyfed, the god perhaps become one with an historical prince. He and Arawn, a king of Annwn, meet and speak as men, though they preserve, as Gruffydd has said of the figures of the *Four Branches*, something of "divine vigour . . . from the larger air"²⁴ of another world. In spite of the conflicting traditions behind the *Pwyll* episode, the story is a good one, both unified and vigorous.

Several scholars have pointed out the relation between the first episode in *Pwyll* and the Irish story of the Conception of Mongan, the Celtic enchanter.²⁵ The Mongan story is one of a very old group of tales in which a god visits a mortal woman for the purpose of begetting a wonder child. Of the two versions of the Mongan Conception, one is found in the eleventh century manuscript *The Book of the Dun Cow*, and the other in the fifteenth century manuscript *The Book of Fermoy*. The tale in *The Book of the Dun Cow*, according to Nutt, was probably redacted in the tenth century, and the one in *The Book of Fermoy* may safely be considered as old in content as that in the earlier manuscript.²⁶ Since the Irish tales are more primitive in structure than *Pwyll* and since the drift of tradition was presumably from Ireland to Wales, the Mongan story may be supposed to have influenced *Pwyll*.

Only the salient points in *Pwyll* are relevant.

Arawn rebuked Pwyll for baiting his hounds upon the stag pulled down by Arawn's hounds, a strange pack shining white with red ears. Arawn promised, however, to make a bond of friendship with Pwyll if Pwyll would fight a battle in his stead with Hafgan, against whom in previous encounters Arawn had been

unsuccessful. The compact was made. Arawn put his form upon Pwyll, and himself assumed Pwyll's form. For a year, as Arawn had arranged, Pwyll lay each night with Arawn's wife, though he maintained chaste relations with her because of his loyalty to Arawn. At the appointed time Pwyll defeated Hafgan. Arawn learned of Pwyll's fidelity, and he and Pwyll made strong the bond of friendship between them.

The story in the Book of the Dun Cow is as follows:²⁷

Fiachna Lurga went to the aid of his friend Aedan in Scotland when the Saxons, with whom Aedan was fighting, brought a "terrible warrior" to kill Aedan. In Fiachna's absence a "noble-looking man" went to Fiachna's wife and asked her love. She agreed to a meeting with him only because he promised that if she gave him her love, he would save her husband's life. He would go to the battle that was to be fought the next day and vanquish the warrior who had been brought against Fiachna. Moreover, he told her, a famous son, Mongan, would be born of their love that night. And the stranger would tell Fiachna of his meeting with Fiachna's wife.

Thus it was done. A "noble-looking" man appeared before the army of Aedan and Fiachna. He told Fiachna of the meeting with his wife; then he vanquished the dreaded warrior. Fiachna returned to his country, and thanked his wife for what she had done for him. She confessed all that had happened. She bore a son, Mongan. The stranger when he had gone from Fiachna's wife in the morning had left a quatrain saying that he was Manannan son of Lir. So the boy was a son of Manannan mac Lir, though he was called Mongan, son of Fiachna.

Similar elements in *Pwyll* (P) and the Dun Cow (DC) version of the Birth of Mongan, then, are the following:

A MEDIEVAL ROMANCE OF FRIENDSHIP:

1. The intervention of one man in the battle of another (occurs twice in DC; once in P).
2. Friendship as a motive for the intervention (only in Fiachna-Aedan incident in DC; clearer in P).
3. The defeat of the powerful enemy by the stranger.
4. Compact between a mortal and a god (between Fiachna's wife and the god Manannan; between Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, and Arawn, King of Annwn) involving—
 - a. The fighting of a battle by one for the other.
 - b. The husband's agreement to or connivance in the plan permitting the stranger to enjoy his wife's love.

The Book of Fermoy (F) version²⁸ has in common with *Pwyll* (P) all of these points except that friendship is not a motive for the intervention of one man in another's battle. The compact between a mortal and a god is, however, much clearer than in DC, and parallels the P compact more closely: Fiachna and the godlike stranger make an agreement by which the stranger will visit Fiachna's wife in the form of her husband and will aid Fiachna in defeating his enemy.

The Book of Fermoy, moreover, has the following parallels to P that are not found in DC.

1. A shining white, red-eared cow is important in F; the shining white, red-eared hounds of Arawn are important in P.
2. Manannan, like Arawn, is a shape-shifter. He takes the form of Fiachna to go to Fiachna's wife; Arawn gives Pwyll his form to go to Arawn's wife.
3. Fiachna has been unsuccessful against his enemy; Arawn has been unsuccessful against his enemy.

This, then, we may believe is the Irish contribution to the *Pwyll* ford combat: a compact between a mortal and a god, intervention of one in the battle of the other, resulting in defeat of a powerful enemy, the suggestion of friendship as the motive for the intervention, visit of one to the wife of the

other with the connivance of the husband and in the husband's form. The Irish tale provides the basic pattern for the Pwyll incident. Indeed, Gruffydd's analysis of the relationships of the Conception of Mongan and the Pwyll episode makes of the story in *Pwyll*, Gruffydd says, "nothing but a confused version" of the Irish, "as related in Welsh to a Welsh audience."²⁹ But the Welsh elements in the tradition are also significant as a background for *Eger and Grime*.

The setting of the *Pwyll* episode is a combination of Welsh geography and Welsh legend. The action takes place in southwest Wales; yet the Otherworld, Annwn, is close at hand—on the very boundaries of Dyfed.³⁰ Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, left Arberth, his principal court, to go hunting in Glyn Cuch, which divided Pembroke from Carmarthenshire. But in this region, easily located on any map of Wales, he met Arawn, who identified himself at once as a king of Annwn. After the agreement between Arawn and Pwyll, Arawn conducted Pwyll until they came in view of the court in Arawn's kingdom. Annwn, thus, was easily reached by Arawn and his mortal guest, riding over familiar landscape. That the marvelous palace would always have been similarly visible to a mortal passing that same spot need not of course be supposed.³¹

The hospitality that Pwyll enjoyed at Arawn's court was suited to an Elysian abode. The queen, Pwyll, and the troop of attendants feasted abundantly. Music and carousal attended the meal. Never in the world had Pwyll seen food and drink so plentifully supplied or a place so well provided with royal treasures or golden vessels for the service of the meal.³² So, in Celtic literature, did the inhabitants of the Otherworld and their mortal guests regularly enjoy miraculous abundance of food and drink, and splendor of serving vessels.³³ It is indeed a "cheerful and happy land"³⁴ that is pictured in this early Welsh description of Annwn—"a god's land to which certain favored mortals penetrate, and from which they may return."³⁵

Of the antagonists in the ford combat, Pwyll appears as a mortal—a mortal who can perform an important service for a king of the Otherworld. At the end of the ford episode, however, we are told that, after his stay in Annwn, he was no

longer called Prince of Dyfed, but was henceforth called Pwyll, head of Annwn. The inconsistency of his two titles indicates an uncertainty concerning his status that would seem to have troubled the story-teller, who, Gruffydd has said, "clumsily utilized" the story to explain the inconsistency.³⁶ Certainly Pwyll's connection with Annwn points to his divine origin, and except for his appearance in this episode of the Mabinogi, he is known to Welsh tradition only as the Head of Annwn.³⁷

Hafgan, the enemy of Arawn, does not appear by that name elsewhere in Welsh literature. But in a fourteenth century poem by Dafydd ap Gwilym, Haf (Summer) is described as a prince who went to Annwn to escape the winter winds.³⁸ Professor Loomis has pointed out the parallel to the Hafgan of our episode, and has said that the two figures may be identified.³⁹ Rhys years ago recognized the significance of the name Hafgan and translated it "summer-white."⁴⁰

About Arawn, *Pwyll* gives a good deal of information. He is of the Otherworld, a king of Annwn. He is a huntsman garbed in grey wool and riding a grey horse, and he has a pack of remarkable hounds, shining white with red ears. His enemy is Hafgan, "summer-white." Against this enemy he has fought unsuccessfully in the past; he must meet him again in a year. So much is in *Pwyll*. That Arawn is a lord of Annwn is confirmed elsewhere in early Welsh literature. *Math Son of Mathonwy* refers to him as a king of Annwn who has made a gift of pigs to Pryderi, son of his friend Pwyll.⁴¹ Again he is referred to as a king of Annwn who took part in a mythological battle called Cad Goddau.⁴²

For his being a huntsman accompanied by a pack of remarkable dogs, we have the confirmation of modern Welsh folklore. Well-authenticated legends make him leader of the wild hunt—a phenomenon by no means peculiar to Wales, but common to most of the countries of Europe.⁴³ In this capacity he is master of the hounds of Annwn (*cwn Annwn*). Accompanied by a howling wind, Arawn the huntsman and his pack of hounds hunted, according to one tradition, only between Christmas and Twelfth Night.⁴⁴ In Glamorgan, Brecon, and Radnor Arawn the master of these hounds, though apparently

not named, is recognizable as Arawn of our tradition, for he rides a grey horse and is clad in grey.⁴⁵ In Montgomeryshire Arawn accompanied a pack of the hounds of Annwn which had their kennels in Plinlimmon.⁴⁶ In lonely regions these dogs of Annwn were heard to howl at night, or at twilight were heard barking wildly.⁴⁷ The character of the dogs has changed, to be sure, since the eleventh century, for in modern folk belief the dogs have become sinister beings, warning of death or misfortune, or even pursuing the souls of the dead.⁴⁸ Yet they are basically the same pack as the hounds of Annwn, in no way malevolent, which Pwyll drove away from the quarry before his meeting with their master.

The background of the enmity between Arawn and Hafgan is especially interesting. In the mention of Arawn's unsuccessful warfare against Hafgan and the suggestion of an annual combat between them, there are traces of mythical conflict between summer and winter.⁴⁹ Arawn, embodiment of winter storms, with his pack of baying hounds—the howling winds—has been defeated in his struggle with Hafgan, representative of the warmth of summer. Here too modern Welsh folk custom is significant, for in the nineteenth century an aged man from the south of Wales bore witness to a fight between summer and winter which took place annually as part of the festivities of May Day.⁵⁰ Summer, dressed in white with garlands of flowers and ribbons, each year led his company of men and boys against winter, dressed roughly in furs, and his company. At the end of the encounter summer was victorious over winter. The struggle between Arawn and Hafgan seemingly had behind it a similar annual conflict. Although the grey huntsman with his baying hounds, known to folk belief of many countries, has long been recognized as a personification of the storm, the Welsh alone, Professor Loomis has pointed out, combined two traditions by introducing him as the antagonist of summer in the conflict of the seasons.⁵¹

These are the materials that went into the episode of the ford combat in *Pwyll*. The compact between a mortal and a god, the intervention of one in the battle of the other and the defeat of the opponent, the visit of one to the wife of the other

with the husband's connivance—all these elements from the Conception of Mongan were in *Pwyll*. To these Irish features a Welsh tradition of a mythical seasonal conflict added the summer and winter traits of the adversaries in the ford combat, the indecisive conflict between the enemies, the suggestion of a yearly interval between conflicts.

Thus in *Pwyll* an Irish story and a Welsh tradition united to form a tale that honored a strong bond of friendship between two men. It is this composite tradition that best accounts for the plot of *Eger and Grime*.

The Pwyll Tradition in Arthurian Romance

In one form or another the tradition of the ford combat preserved in *Pwyll* must have achieved a wide circulation, for the influence of the tale can often be detected in Arthurian romance.

A ford combat as a stock motif in the romances might indeed need no other explanation than the fact that fighting at fords seems to have been a common practice among the Celtic nations. What place more likely for a combat, in fact, than a river crossing? A stream must often have marked a boundary between one man's land and another's, and then as now a river must frequently have formed a boundary between provinces. To prevent an unwanted stranger from crossing such a boundary would be natural enough. The stream itself may have been considered neutral ground between the two boundaries,⁵² the ford being then the best place for the encounter. The Irish stories suggest, as Eleanor Hull has said, that it was often "quite sufficient to go down to one of these frontier streams to find some combatant whom it was possible to provoke to single combat."⁵³ The occurrence of a combat at a ford in one of the romances would in itself then be no justification for supposing influence from *Pwyll*. But when an episode in a romance reproduces unusual features of especial interest in the *Pwyll* story, it may give evidence of reflecting the Welsh tradition.

When one of the antagonists in an encounter is a huntsman,

wearing a woollen coat, carrying a horn, and accompanied by a pack of hounds (as in *Le Bel Inconnu*), we are reminded of the huntsman Arawn. When we learn that this huntsman is called the Proud Knight of the Glade (L'Orgueilleux de la Lande), we remember Arawn's proud behavior toward Pwyll at their first meeting in a glade in the forest. When one of the huntsman's dogs is white with black ears (in *Le Bel Inconnu*) or white with one red ear (in the related romance *Wigalois*), or when the horse of the antagonist at a ford is white with two red ears (in *Lai de L'Espine*), Arawn's remarkable hounds come to mind. When because of friendship one knight offers to take the place of another in an encounter, and although the offer is refused, exchanges armor with his friend and so fights in his semblance (Lancelot's last combat with Meleagant in Chrétien's *Charrette*), Pwyll's ready intervention in Arawn's quarrel is suggested. When the combat at a ford is a nocturnal one with indecisive ending and must be repeated in a year, when one of the antagonists has "summer" traits, when there is a suggestion of a lady who must remain inviolate (*Diu Crône*), the resemblance to the seasonal conflict reflected in *Pwyll* is apparent. When there is a fairy palace near the river, where a lady who is *fée* entertains a mortal lover (the *Didot Perceval*), or when a huntsman host sends a knight to be entertained by the lady of the castle, who gladly undertakes the task (the Guingambresil episode in Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*), the entertainment of Pwyll by Arawn's wife suggests itself.⁵⁴

Any one of these features may indicate a relationship to the *Pwyll* tradition. When several are present and when comparison with similar incidents in other romances reveals pieces that may be fitted into the mosaic, the resemblance can hardly be fortuitous. The process of oral transmission over a period of time imposes limitations; the ford pattern will not be complete in the romances. If the outline is occasionally clear enough to be identified, we shall be fortunate.

So familiar a poem, for example, as *Gawain and the Green Knight*—finest of the Middle English romances—may illustrate the penetration of the tradition of the Welsh ford combat into Arthurian story. In *Gawain* four features resemble the ford

combat in *Pwyll*:⁵⁵ Gawain's host is a huntsman; Gawain refuses the favors of the absent host's wife out of loyalty to the host; there is an interval of a year between the first encounter with the Green Knight and the second; and the second encounter takes place beside a brook. When the relationships of this romance to other romances influenced by the tradition are examined, these resemblances appear to be organic, indicating genuine tradition.

More striking than the similarities to *Pwyll* in *Gawain and the Green Knight* are those in *Diu Crône*, a long, rambling Middle High German romance of the early thirteenth century. Since we shall examine the ford episode in this romance later, it may be sufficient to say here that circumstances under which the ford combat in *Diu Crône* takes place point to the *Pwyll* tradition. Indicative are the suggestion of seasonal conflict in the interval between combats, in the "summer" traits of one of the antagonists, in the fact that the second combat concerns possession of a lady whose inviolability is to be preserved between the battles.

The appearance of the material of *Pwyll* in *Eger and Grime* is then by no means an isolated phenomenon. The motivation of the *Pwyll* ford combat by friendship between Pwyll and Arawn lends itself perfectly to a romance of friendship, and the author made good use of tradition.

CHAPTER III

THE FRIENDSHIP ROMANCES

"they were fellowes good & fine." P, vs. 44.

Though the medieval romances, Colin Clout would say, tell tales "All full of love, and love, and love my deare," there are a number of romances in which the central story is one not of love, but of friendship. In *Eger and Grime*, we know, a strong bond of friendship between two men is the impelling motive in the substitution of one for the other in the battle with a mighty opponent. Interestingly enough, this same central design shapes the plot of two other romances—*Amis and Amiloun* and *Sadius and Galo*. And the pattern that underlies the story of all three is found in the mabinogi of *Pwyll*.

The common theme of friendship as a reason for the desire of one friend to fight a difficult battle for the other, whom he impersonates, is so distinctive that recognition of the resemblance of the romances to each other and to *Pwyll* was to be expected. Several scholars have noted the similarity of *Amis and Amiloun* to *Pwyll*. Professor MacEdward Leach, in his edition of the Middle English version of *Amis and Amiloun*, mentioned *Pwyll* merely as an "interesting analogue to the brother substitution motif" in *Amis*.¹ M. B. Ogle stated that *Amis* and *Pwyll* probably derive from the same source, "which seems to have been an Oriental tale."² Francis Bar wisely recognized that the resemblance could scarcely be due to coincidence, since a "chaine," "une suite de motifs,"³ was involved.

Other scholars, we have noted, have observed that *Eger*

and *Grime* is similar to *Pwyll*.⁴ Professor Caldwell, moreover, noted the resemblance of *Pwyll*, not only to *Eger*, as we know, but to *Amis* and *Sadius* as well, and believed that the similarities were to be accounted for by the relation of *Pwyll* and the romances to the folktale the Two Brothers.⁵

The recognition by these scholars of significant correspondences between *Amis and Amiloun* or *Eger and Grime* and *Pwyll* and especially Professor Caldwell's recognition of relationships among all of the friendship romances and of all of them to *Pwyll* is an important step toward an understanding of the romances. But Professor Caldwell's theory that the similarities depend upon the derivation of all three romances from the Exchange of Identities—one of two tales into which Professor Caldwell divided the Two Brothers—explains too little and is insufficiently supported. In view of the definitive study of the Two Brothers folktale by Kurt Ranke and of Ranke's conclusions,⁶ Professor Archer Taylor's criticism in a review of Professor Caldwell's edition of *Eger* seems justified: "The decomposition of the two brothers tale into two independent tales must be supported by arguments too far reaching to be presented in the preface to an edition of a romance or combated in such a notice as this."⁷ On the other hand, all attempts to account for the correspondences on the basis of the borrowing of an earlier text by a later are also unsatisfactory, for the points of similarity and of divergence are too complex to be so simply accounted for.

The difficulties of the relationships disappear when we assume a common source for all three romances in oral tradition. And the Welsh tradition of the ford combat—a tradition that we have seen has influenced Arthurian romance—accounts for the important events in the friendship romances and for the sequence of these events. *Sadius*, *Amis*, and *Eger* do not keep all features of the tradition represented in the first episode in *Pwyll*, but they preserve the outline of that episode better than other romances in which a ford combat occurs, because they alone keep the friendship of the two heroes as the clear motivation of the action.

Sadius and Galo, which appears in Walter Map's *De Nugis*

Curialium and is extant in a single manuscript, is a skilful and sophisticated Latin prose romance.⁸ James Hinton dates its composition in the reign of Henry II—"before July, 1189."⁹ A summary of *Sadius*, omitting some material not related to *Eger*, will indicate its similarity to that romance.¹⁰

Two devoted friends, Sadius and Galo, both of noble lineage, served in the court of the king of the Asiatics. The Queen loved Galo, but because he rejected her advances, she became angry at him. At a banquet she persuaded the king to fulfil his promise to her of an unspecified gift by forcing Galo to tell his secret thoughts. Under protest he told his story.

To test his strength after a fever, he had ridden through a forest to the garden of a palace in a marvelous city. A lady, sitting beneath a cherry tree and maintaining an unnatural silence, had summoned a giant to protect her from Galo's advances. The giant, Rivius, armed and riding a very large horse, had attacked Galo and humiliated him by casting him into the fork of a tree. Another damsel had appeared and pleaded for Galo. Finally the giant had agreed to allow Galo a year's truce, the maiden to be hostage for his return. The year had passed, and the maiden, the giant, and all their attendants were at the gate. But Galo, fearing defeat and determined not to fight the unequal battle, rushed from the banquet table.

Sadius followed his friend because of loyal friendship, and offered to exchange armor with Galo and undertake the combat in Galo's place. Galo courteously refused this offer, but it gave him courage. He bade Sadius explain the true situation to the helpful damsel. He then exchanged armor with Sadius. Thus disguised, Galo encountered Rivius in the presence of the armies of both the giant and the king of the Asiatics. He cut off Rivius's hand, and so defeated him. Sadius and Galo ended the disguise, to the humiliation of the proud queen.

The correspondences between *Eger* and *Sadius and Galo* are striking, and the most significant of them conform to the story in *Pwyll*. The account by one man of his defeat at the hands of a mighty supernatural opponent, the second man's readiness to undertake battle with the enemy in place of the first man, the disguise assumed for the battle, the second combat with defeat of the supernatural antagonist, the establishing of the true identity of the two men, the explanation of the disguise to the helpful and gracious lady, and as motivation for the whole central episode the bond of friendship between the two men—these points of resemblance outline the story in *Pwyll*.

These obvious similarities, moreover, cannot be accounted for by supposing that *Eger and Grime* has borrowed from the earlier romance, as Professor Caldwell thought possible.¹¹ *Eger* has certain features of the *Pwyll* tradition that do not occur in *Sadius*. The combat was at a ford in *Pwyll*, beyond a ford in *Eger*. But the ford is missing entirely in *Sadius and Galo*. Moreover, the substitution of one friend for the other in the second combat was carried out in *Eger* as in *Pwyll*. In *Sadius*, on the other hand, although *Sadius* offered to fight the giant *Rivius* in *Galo's* place, *Galo* refused his friend's offer, but consented to fight the battle disguised as *Sadius*. The *Sadius* story here appears the more sophisticated.

On the other hand, one original feature found in *Sadius* and not clear in *Eger* may corroborate the view that the tradition of the Welsh ford combat has shaped *Sadius*. The year's interval between the combats with the supernatural opponent is very prominent in *Map's* romance though barely suggested in *Eger*. This interval is a recurring motif in *Pwyll*.

Though the earliest version of *Amis and Amiloun* is one hundred years earlier than *Sadius and Galo*, *Amis* has completely rationalized the supernatural material in the part of the romance that corresponds to *Sadius* and *Eger*. The history of *Amis* presents puzzling problems which are still unsolved, but which need not concern us. The first extant version, it is generally agreed, is a Latin verse epistle of about 1090 by *Radulfus Tortarius*, a monk at the Benedictine abbey of

Fleury-sur-Loire.¹² This version tells a romantic story of friendship. The Latin prose *Vita Sanctorum Amici et Amelii*,¹³ the earliest version of which is from the twelfth century, is hagiographic, and in it a strongly monastic flavor is evident. The two friends are Christian martyrs attached to the court of Charlemagne, the pope takes an active part in the story, there are pilgrimages to Rome and a final miracle by which the tombs of Amicus and Amelius are found together the day after the burial of the friends in separate churches. An Anglo-Norman poem and a French *chanson de geste*, both probably of about 1200, give the romantic version.¹⁴ In all these versions friendship is tested as completely as was wifely devotion in the story of patient Griselda. And the delight of the medieval mind in a story which puts a single virtue to a supreme test is witnessed by the number of versions of *Amis and Amiloun* in the later Middle Ages. Professor MacEdward Leach, in his edition of the Middle English poem, lists seven romantic versions in Latin, Anglo-Norman, Old French, and Middle English by the fifteenth century, twelve hagiographic ones in Latin prose between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, and fifteen translations or "important reworkings" of the Latin prose versions from many countries of Europe between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁵

A summary of the first part of *Amis* will show a central situation similar to that of *Eger and Grime* and *Sadius and Galo*. The summary is of the Middle English poem—a romantic version.¹⁶

Amis and Amiloun, young knights vowed to friendship and closely resembling each other, were in the service of the same nobleman. Amiloun left court and married. Amis first refused but later accepted the amorous advances of Belisaunt, the duke's daughter. When a wicked steward informed the duke of their relations, Amis, though guilty, sought to establish his innocence by challenging the steward to judicial combat. Fearing defeat because he had perjured himself, he went to Amiloun for aid. Amiloun, from motives

of friendship, offered to take Amis' place in the combat. Though they resembled each other, they made disguise complete by an exchange of armor. Each night Amis slept with his friend's wife, who mistook him for her husband. Because of loyalty to Amiloun, however, he did not accept her love, but placed his naked sword between himself and her.

Amiloun met the steward in combat, and after a difficult battle defeated him. Amis and Amiloun met secretly and donned their own clothing. Amiloun learned of his friend's loyalty when, after Amiloun's return, his wife expressed surprise at his caresses. Amiloun explained the substitution to her. Amis returned to court.

Again, the pattern of the Welsh tradition is evident. In common with *Pwyll* and with *Eger* the story of *Amis and Amiloun* has the following significant points: One friend tells the other of an impending battle with a powerful antagonist; the second friend offers to substitute for the first, disguised as the first; the offer is accepted. A lady hospitably entertains the friend who fights the battle, and receives a special explanation of the disguise. The loyal friend defeats the enemy, and the friends resume their own rôles. A strong bond of friendship between the two men is the motive for the disguise and for the substitution in battle.

The common features of *Eger* and *Amis* can not be adequately accounted for by the theory that the author of the fifteenth century romance simply borrowed the plot of *Amis and Amiloun*—a romance universally known and loved in the Middle Ages. For *Eger* has a form of the story in most respects more primitive than even the earliest version of *Amis and Amiloun*. In *Eger* two characters have supernatural traits: Graysteel, lord of a 'forbidden country,' with his great size and his strength that waxes and wanes as the sun rises and sets, and Loosepine with her fairy 'love-spots' and her more than mortal power of healing. Graysteel could not derive from the steward in *Amis*, nor Loosepine from Belisaunt, for the steward and

Belisaunt are completely rationalized. They belong to a mortal world, and they trail no clouds of glory. Moreover, the connection of the ford with the combat is lost in *Amis* as in *Sadius*, though preserved in *Eger*. And *Amis* has only one combat—that in which one friend substitutes for the other. The combat at which, before the main action of the story, one knight has been humiliated by the champion at the ford, does not occur. This feature, so important in *Pwyll* because it provides the reason for Pwyll's substitution for Arawn, remains in *Eger*, though it has been lost in the earlier romance.

On the other hand, one important original element not found in *Eger* is present in *Amis and Amiloun* to reenforce the relation of *Amis* to the *Pwyll* tradition. In *Pwyll*, it will be remembered, Arawn, when he put his form upon Pwyll, sent him not only to govern Arawn's kingdom, but to enjoy the love of Arawn's wife. This test of friendship Pwyll met beyond Arawn's expectations by maintaining chaste relations with Arawn's wife, every night in bed turning his back upon her. In the same situation, *Amis* displayed his loyalty to his friend by placing his naked sword between *Amiloun's* wife and himself.

The conclusion that the central plot not only of *Eger* but also of *Sadius and Galo* and of *Amis and Amiloun* derives from the *Pwyll* tradition of the ford combat accounts for the complex similarities in the three romances, widely separated as these romances are in time and place. About 1090, we know, Radulfus, a Benedictine monk of Fleury-sur-Loire, was writing a summary of a story that he said the Gaul already knew, and the Saxon in his "far dwelling"—the story of two friends whose tombs, he said, could be seen at Mortara in Lombardy. A century later that busy man of the world, Walter Map, was writing, presumably in England, a story of two young men at the court of the king of the Asiatics. In Scotland at least two centuries later than Walter Map, an unknown poet was composing a romance of two knights in the land of Beame. Yet all of these authors were telling a story basically the same—of friends whose friendship met the same test. Surprising it may seem at first glance that the same Welsh tradition should in-

fluence the three romances. But the ready passage of story material from Wales to the Bretons, and so, by way of the *conteurs*, to France and to the Anglo-Normans has been demonstrated, and for the friendship romances as for much Arthurian material provides the clearest explanation.¹⁷ Behind the written record of Radulfus, Walter Map, and the Scottish poet, we may think of a Welsh *cyfarwydd*, telling his tales as he traveled from court to court; of a Breton *conteur* who entertained the Bretons or the Normans in England or the French with his stories; perhaps of a French jongleur who combined the materials at his disposal—if indeed there was a jongleur, as Bédier thought, who entertained pilgrims at Mortara, on the pilgrimage route to Rome, with a story of Amis and Amile.¹⁸

CHAPTER IV

THE COMBAT AT THE FORD

*" . . . he that ouer that riuer shold ryde,
strange adventures shold abyde." P, vss. 417-418*

The entire plot of *Eger and Grime* rests upon the defeat of Graysteel, a supernatural warrior who is lord of a "forbidden country." Two friends are involved in this exploit, the first defeated by Graysteel in a preliminary battle, the second, disguised as the first, successful against him in a second combat beyond a ford. This plot is similar to that of the first episode in *Pwyll*. Moreover, the last chapter showed that a group of three romances, of which *Eger* is one, were related to *Pwyll* by the motif of friendship between the two men involved in the battle with the mighty antagonist.

The friendship motif excepted, however, the Welsh ford combat is more clearly preserved elsewhere in the romances than in *Sadius and Galo* and *Amis and Amiloun*. That the combat beyond a ford in *Eger* derives from the *Pwyll* tradition will become increasingly apparent if other romances reveal a series of incidents similar to those in *Eger* and if the resemblances can not be accounted for as borrowings from one romance to another. If, for example, a later romance has features more primitive than an earlier one and if similarities and differences present an intricate variety of relationships, the presence of the same oral tradition behind both may be assumed.

Two poems contribute to an understanding of the combats of *Eger* and *Grime* with Graysteel, and reenforce the relation of the combats in *Eger* to the *Pwyll* tradition. Comparison with

Diu Crône will reveal in *Eger* traces of the seasonal conflict that is significant in *Pwyll*. Comparison with *Le Lai de l'Espine* will give meaning to the ford references in *Eger*, to the suggestion of a night combat, and to the mention of Graysteel's supernatural horse. A study of those poems, then, should serve to brighten the dimmed outlines of the ford pattern in *Eger and Grime*.

Diu Crône, written by Heinrich von dem Türlin about 1220, is a veritable miscellany of romance motifs and adventures, ill-assorted, fantastic, extravagant. In it is a ford combat that has much in common with the combats in *Eger* and that also preserves traces of the Welsh seasonal conflict basic to the *Pwyll* tradition, but no longer clear in *Eger and Grime*. A summary follows.¹

As King Arthur, returned from hunting, was warming himself by the fire, the Queen taunted him with a knight she knew who had greater endurance and who rode summer and winter clad in only a white shirt. This knight had a white horse, a white shield, and a white banner on a red lance, and he haunted the Ford of the Black Thorn (*Ritet er âne pine/Den vurt vür Noirespine*—vss. 3423-25). Arthur, indignant, went to the Ford of the Black Thorn that night, accompanied by Kei, Gales Lîschas, and Aumagwin. At or near the ford the stranger they were seeking met and unhorsed Arthur's three companions, and led away their horses. He then engaged in an indecisive combat with Arthur. After this combat the stranger revealed himself to Arthur as Gasozein de Dragoz, and told Arthur that his claim to the Queen's affection was prior to Arthur's own.² Gasozein was Ginover's proper husband, he said; Arthur had taken her from him against Gasozein's will. Nevertheless, he offered to stake her on a single battle with Arthur. If Gasozein won Ginover he agreed not to touch her for a year. At the end of that time he would fight for her again against any of Arthur's knights. Arthur proposed

instead a battle at Karidol in six weeks. Gasozein agreed. Gasozein gave Arthur the horses he had captured from the three knights and departed.

On the day appointed for the battle Gasozein appeared in splendid arms given him by his sister Galamide, the rich fairy. A gold lion rampant on an azure field was his coat of arms, and his horse was white. Arthur warned his knights that they should not come between Gasozein and him; then he and Gasozein met in an inconclusive battle. After this combat Arthur and Gasozein agreed to let Ginover choose between them. Though at first undecided, she finally chose Arthur. Suspecting that Ginover was faithless to Arthur, her brother Gotegrin angrily carried her off. As he was preparing to kill her, Gasozein appeared and rode away with the Queen. Gawein rode up and found Gasozein making unwelcome advances to Ginover under a linden tree. Gawein, who attempted to take her home to Arthur, engaged in a violent battle with Gasozein in which neither was successful. Finally they agreed to postpone the final combat. A year later Gasozein declared to Arthur that his claims to Ginover had been false. Arthur forgave him, and he remained at court.

The parallels between *Eger and Diu Crône* may be listed.

Diu Crône

Eger and Grime

The Queen taunts Arthur with a tale about a braver knight.

Winliane taunts Eger with his lack of bravery.

Arthur encountered at a ford Gasozein, a knight with splendid arms.

Eger encountered beyond a ford Graysteel, a knight with splendid arms.

Gasozein had red arms and a lion rampant on his shield.

Graysteel had red shield, spear, and horse; and a "ramping lyon" on his shield.

Arthur's companions were unhorsed by Gasozein, and Arthur had a difficult fight with him.	Eger was defeated by Graysteel.
Gawein engaged in a tremendous battle to restore Ginover to Arthur.	Grime engaged in a difficult battle to reunite Eger and Winliane.
The victor Gasozein led away the horses of his three defeated opponents.	The victor Grime took the horse of the defeated opponent Graysteel.

Moreover, *Diu Crône* as well as *Eger* gives evidence of having been influenced by the *Pwyll* tradition. Gasozein, warm in winter clad in only a white shirt, and with white arms and a white horse, is like Hafgan ('summer white') in *Pwyll*. An inconclusive ford combat, the suggestion of a year's interval between combats, the promise that the lady should remain inviolate for the year between combats—these also in *Diu Crône* are paralleled in *Pwyll*.

Similarities between *Diu Crône* and *Eger* cannot be explained as a borrowing from *Diu Crône* by the author of *Eger*, for in certain respects *Eger* is closer than *Diu Crône* to the *Pwyll* tradition. The greater unity of *Eger*, the clearer motif of friendship, and the decisive victory over the antagonist in the second combat show an earlier form of the story in *Eger* than in the Middle High German romance. An oral tradition underlying both romances affords the best explanation for their similarities.

Le Lai de l'Espine contains a version of the ford combat more primitive than that in *Eger*. Since the same Welsh tradition apparently underlies both the romance and the *lai*, a comparison of *L'Espine* with *Eger* will show the importance of a number of features present but indistinct in *Eger*. A summary will be useful.³

A young prince, newly dubbed a knight, heard that adventure awaited a brave knight at the Ford of the Thorn on the Eve of St. John.

Toward night on St. John's Eve, therefore, he set out for the Ford of the Thorn ("Dreit au gué de l'espine vait"—vs. 229). His *amie* went to the orchard, sat down under a newly grafted tree ('une ente'), and fell asleep. In her sleep she was spirited away to the Ford of the Thorn. The prince found her there, welcomed her, and put her under the thorn tree.

Looking across the ford, he saw a knight, splendidly equipped with red arms and riding a white horse with two red ears. The prince crossed the ford and fought with the stranger. The prince knocked his opponent from the saddle, led away his horse, crossed the ford, and presented the horse to his *amie* beneath the thorn.

Two other strange knights approached and crossed the ford. The prince jousted with one of them until the other knight stopped the contest. The knight who had been watching told the prince the great value of the horse he had taken from his adversary, but warned him that he must keep the horse's bridle over its head. The prince then jousted with the other knight until the maiden became alarmed for her friend's safety, and cried to the stranger that he should cease fighting and depart. Courteously, then, he and his companion crossed the ford and departed. The prince went to his *amie*, in fear beneath the thorn, lifted her before him, and rode away, leading the horse of his vanquished opponent.

Back at court the prince told the assembled guests of the adventure of that night at the ford: first, how he had found the maiden beneath the thorn tree, then of his combats, and of the horse that he had won. The prince married the damsel. They guarded the horse well until one day the lady, to test whether the strange

knight's warning had been true, took the bridle from its head. Then they lost the horse.

The Bretons made a *lai* of this adventure. Because it happened at the Ford, they considered that the *lai* should take its name from nothing if not from the thorn. So it had the name *Lai de l'Espine*.

The summary shows a series of events similar to those of the combat in *Eger*. In both the hero engages in a combat at a ford, the antagonist is a knight splendidly armed in red, a somewhat mysterious lady is concerned in the outcome of the battle and attempts to aid the hero, the victorious knight takes home the marvelous horse of his opponent, the combat takes place at night (*L'Espine*) or the idea that it occurs at night is suggested (*Eger*). These parallels reveal the Welsh ford pattern. Of special significance here are the importance of the ford, the combat by night, and the marvelous horse of the ford champion.

The Importance of the Ford

To enter Graysteel's land it was necessary for both Eger and Grime to cross a ford, and this ford is frequently mentioned in connection with the battle against Graysteel. A comparison with *Le Lai de l'Espine* indicates that the insistence on the ford in *Eger* is not accidental but may be accounted for by the relation of the romance to the Welsh tradition of a ford combat. For though a combat at a ford was no doubt a common occurrence in Celtic antiquity, the combats in *Eger* and *L'Espine* both have a combination of motifs that makes them distinctive; and one of these motifs is the connection of the ford with the combat. The same feature was of course important in the combat recorded in *Pwyll*.

A deep river separated the land of Beame from Graysteel's "forbidden country." Eger told Grime—

Over the river were ryding frythes 2,⁴
& soone I chose to the one of tho. P, vss. 105-106

When he had ridden a "short while" in that forbidden land, he met Graysteel, and fought with him. After his humiliating battle Eger came to himself and "was ware of a runing strand" (P. vs. 187); he evidently was still near the stream that he had forded. Similarly, when Grime left Loosepine and rode to Graysteel's country, he chose one of the two "ryding places" and rode into Graysteel's land (P. vss. 938-940). After the battle with Graysteel he rode back "towards the fresh riuer" (P. vs. 1119). Obviously, the heroes must cross a ford to enter Graysteel's country, and the combat took place close to this ford. Just how important the ford was becomes clearer by a comparison with *Le Lai de l'Espine*.

In the *Lai* the connection between the ford and the adventure which took place there is unmistakable. On the day the hero was dubbed a knight he heard at supper of the adventure awaiting a brave knight on the Eve of St. John "au gué de l'espine" (vs. 188). He determined to go to the Ford to seek this adventure (Gaiterai au gué de l'espine/Et prendrai illec m'aventure"—vss. 204-205). On St. John's Eve therefore he went to the Ford ("Dreit au gué de l'espine vait"—vs. 229). On that night his *amie* was ravished away by magic from under a grafted tree in her orchard to the Ford of the Thorn. The prince found her there and explained to her that she was at the Ford of the Thorn, where there was many an adventure. Looking across the ford, he saw a splendid knight and crossed the ford to encounter him. After knocking this knight from his saddle, the prince recrossed the ford to his *amie*. Then two more knights appeared, crossed the ford, and jousted in turn with the prince. After these encounters the knights recrossed the ford, and all three departed. Later, back at court, the assembled company heard from the prince—

Comment avint au chevalier
Au gué ou il ala guaitier.

Vss. 489-490

These references and more in the *Lai* make two points apparent. First, the ford and the adventure that took place there are inseparably connected: this adventure could take

place only at the Ford of the Thorn. In the second place, this was no ordinary ford, nor was it any everyday adventure that crossing it brought to the hero. The whole episode is eerie and unreal as a dream. The prince's *amie* was spirited away by magic from her orchard to the ford. Beside the ford grew a thorn tree that had something to do with the magic of the adventure.⁵ The ford champion rode on a horse that was a supernatural steed. The battles with the red knight and with the two companion knights have an atmosphere of magic about them. And with this adventure of the *Lai* in mind, it is well to remember that beyond the ford where Pwyll met Hafgan was Annwn, the Celtic Otherworld, and that Hafgan, the ford champion, was a king of Annwn.

What, then, of the ford in *Eger and Grime*? It is not surprising that to reach Graysteel's country Eger and Grime must cross a ford. It is not strange that Graysteel's country is a "land forbidden" or that Graysteel himself had strength that waxed and waned as that of no mortal antagonist could have done. Comparison with *L'Espine* makes it evident that the ford in *Eger* was more important than the author himself may have realized, for he was following a tradition in which a hero met a supernatural champion in a night combat at a ford. The ford was the only approach to Graysteel's "forbidden land." Graysteel guarded that approach jealously, and Eger and Grime could not cross the ford without a mighty combat—

for he that ouer that riuer shold ryde,
strange aventures shold abyde.

P, vss. 417-418

The Combat by Night

In *Pwyll* the combat at the ford between Pwyll and Hafgan took place at night—our best evidence that the traditional battle was a night encounter. Arawn explained to Pwyll that the time fixed for the battle with Hafgan was "a year from tonight." Pwyll then spent a year in Arawn's kingdom "till the night the

encounter should be." "On that appointed night" Pwyll went to the combat with Hafgan.

In *Eger* there is a probable trace of the tradition that the ford combat took place by night. When Grime rode forth to meet Graysteel, he set out on a conventionally beautiful May morning. Soon he crossed the ford, and the Percy version says—

. . . into Gray steeles Land can he ryde;
& yett was feared Sir Gryme the Knight
lest he wold haue tarryed him till night.

P, vss. 940-942

The desire not to postpone the combat was proper to any hero. But the poet's sense that the battle should be a combat by night may well be reflected in Grime's fear that Graysteel would tarry till night before coming to the encounter.⁶

Le Lai de l'Espine makes it pretty clear that the suggestion of a night combat in *Eger* is not accidental. The first mention of adventure at the *gué de l'espine* says that "a la nuit de la Saint-Johan" (vs. 189) there will be more adventure at this ford than in all the rest of the year ("plus que en tot l' an"—vs. 190).⁷ Later, throughout the *Lai* there are constant references to the fact that the adventures of the prince at the ford took place at night. "Icele nuit," "la nuit," "cele nuit," "Ce fu l'aventure premiere/Que le nuit vint au chevalier" (vss. 294-295)—the point is insisted upon. And indications that the ford combat traditionally took place at night are well supported by similar combats in related romances.⁸

With the *Pwyll* night combat as evidence and the insistence of *L'Espine* that the ford battle occurred at night, we may believe that *Eger* preserves something of this tradition. Grime, riding forth into Graysteel's country in the early morning, eager for the combat, feared that Graysteel might not come to meet him until night. The reason for his apprehension may well have been the knowledge that the battle at the ford was regularly and properly a night combat.

The Marvelous Horse of the Ford Champion

In *Eger and Grime* the horse of Graysteel is said to be a marvelous steed. *Le Lai de l'Espine* may make clear that the supernatural horse of the ford champion was traditional. Before Grime's battle with Graysteel the wonderful horse and its trappings are described. The steed is of a "furley" (marvelous)^o kind; its trappings are wondrously rich:

his sadle with selcamoure was sett,
with barrs of gold richlye fret;
his petrill was of silke of Inde,
his steed was of a furley kinde,
with raines of silke raught to his hand,
with bells of gold theratt ringand. P, vss. 971-976

After having killed Graysteel, Grime captured his opponent's steed and rode it away, leading his own by the bridle. Throughout the rest of the romance the two steeds are frequently mentioned. Finally, back in the land of Beame, when Eger had gone to the forest for Graysteel's steed and was riding it toward Earl Gares's palace, there is an emphatic reminder that Grime is bringing Graysteel's horse with him:

one looked betwene him & the sunn,
sais, "methinkes I see tow armed Knights come."
another sayd, "Nay indeed,
it is an armed Knight ryding, & leads a steede."

P, vss. 1329-32

The capture of Graysteel's horse was an important matter—just how important, comparison with *Le Lai de l'Espine* may make clear.

The horse of the champion in the *lai* is supernatural. When first the prince saw his opponent across the Ford of the Thorn, he noticed that his steed was white with two red ears:

Ses armes sont totes vermeilles
 Et du cheval les dous oreilles
 Et li autres cors toz blans. Vss. 309-311

After unhorsing this knight, the prince took his horse by the reins, led it across the ford, and presented it to the damsel under the thorn tree. Later, one of his opponent's two companion knights told the prince of the marvelous horse he had captured: never had he enjoyed such riches and good fortune as would be his as long as he left the bridle over its head. But if he removed the bridle, the horse would be lost.¹⁰ The prince led home the fine horse and guarded it carefully. But one day the lady, now his wife, wishing to test the truth of the injunction laid upon her lord, removed the bridle. Then the horse was lost.

Tant garda et tint le destrier
 Que la dame, por essaier,
 Se ert du cheval verité
 Que ses sires ot tant gardé
 Le frain li a du chief tolu;
 Einsi ot le cheval perdu. Vss. 499-504

This horse of the ford champion has affinity with more than one fairy horse. It is well known that supernatural beings often ride white horses.¹¹ But in addition to being white, the horse in the *Lai* has two red ears. Immediately this suggests the shining white, red-eared Otherworld hounds of Arawn—*cwn Annwn*—that appear in the episode of the ford combat in *Pwyll*.¹² Moreover, only a fairy horse could bring to its owner the good fortune and riches that the knight at the ford told the prince would be his while he kept the horse. And the very tabu that forbade the removal of the bridle from the horse's head marks a fairy steed. Iron was long supposed to afford protection against fairies. When the lady, to satisfy an all-too-feminine curiosity, removed the bridle, the strange power of this metal over the steed was lost,¹³ and the horse disappeared. Thus, the ceremony with which the prince led the steed away

and presented it to his *amie*, the grave instructions about the horse given the prince by his mysterious and courteous opponent, the care with which the prince guarded the horse—all are explained if we understand that the steed had supernatural powers and that its capture as a battle prize was not the least advantage gained by the defeat of the ford champion.

The tradition had become attenuated before it reached *Eger and Grime*. But Graysteel's horse is huge and "furley." It is a possession to be prized by Graysteel's opponent; hence the author's reiterated insistence that Grime "hath brought with him Sir Gray steeles steede" (P, vs. 1127). A supernatural horse taken as a reward of battle by the victorious knight from the ford champion was a part of the Welsh ford tradition.¹⁴

The following chapter will show other relationships between *Le Lai de l'Espine* and *Eger and Grime*. The comparison here has shown in the ford combats common matter that may be explained by oral tradition underlying both the *lai* and the romance. For *Eger* did not borrow its story from the twelfth century *lai*. In the substitution of Grime for Eger in a second combat with Graysteel and in the motivation of Grime's act by friendship, as well as in other respects, *Eger* has primitive elements present in *Pwyll* but not in the *Lai*. At the same time, *L'Espine* has made an important contribution to an understanding of the central episode in *Eger*—the defeat of Graysteel. It has shown the importance of the ford in the combat, it may explain the suggestion that the combat should take place at night, it has afforded background for the references to Graysteel's marvelous steed. It thus serves as a significant link connecting *Eger and Grime* with an ancient tradition.

CHAPTER V

LOOSEPINE, THE LADY OF THE THORN

"... the conningest leech in this land" P, vs. 316

The Lady Loosepine, lovely to look upon, with complexion "red as rose in raine," is always close to the center of the important action in *Eger and Grime*. Hospitable to both the heroes, skillful in healing Eger's wounds, eager to advise Grime concerning Graysteel's vulnerability, she moves through the poem. No more the invention of the Scottish poet than the ford combat itself, she owes much to tradition. Even her beauty and her gracious hospitality, qualities conventional enough in medieval romance, take on added meaning when the tradition that underlies *Eger* is understood.

In her relation to the ford combat, three points are significant:

1. Loosepine may be identified as the lady of the thorn—*la dame de l'espine*—important in the traditional ford combat.
2. She inherits traditions of Morgain la Fée.
3. She plays the role that Arawn's wife played in the *Pwyll* ford combat.

Loosepine—Lady of the Thorn

In folklore, in Celtic story, in Arthurian romance, the thorn has again and again proved a tree of magic. The fairies of British folk tradition, a warlike Irish goddess, the fays of romance and ballad have appeared at thorn trees in the interest

of mortals or to their everlasting harm. A Breton *lai* (*Le Lai de l'Espine*), a ballad of the Scottish border (*Sir Cawline*), and a French *chanson de geste* (*Maugis d'Aigremont*) will reveal that a lady of fairy powers and an undoubted connection with a thorn tree has made her way into the very tradition that concerns us.

But first the thorn of folklore, for folklore provides a background against which the lady of the romances may be understood. There is plenty of evidence that the thorn itself has long been held a tree of magic, the abode of fairies. Remote origins of the reverence for the thorn tree are indicated by the fact that the white-thorn was a sacred tree connected with marriage rites in Greece and Rome long before medieval Christianity added to its sanctity by identifying it as the tree used to make the Crown of Thorns.¹ But recent folklore has its record. Old hawthorns growing singly in a field or on the banks of a stream have long been regarded as sacred and as having healing powers.² To cut down an aged thorn tree, it was believed, would bring danger or disaster because such trees were the dwelling place of fairies, who would resent interference.³ Wood-Martin tells of a peasant who once saw hundreds of soldiers marching up a solitary hawthorn in Cashel.⁴ But more often it was a fairy woman who appeared near a thorn tree. Lady Wilde tells of a fairy woman dwelling in an aged thorn, who cast a spell on a farmer's good cow and milked it every morning until he saw the woman with his own eyes and had the cow exorcised by a fairy doctor.⁵ A green lady came to the eye-well in Marcross, near St. Donat's, and watched devotees as they hung rags on the thorn-bushes around the well.⁶

It is well known that the Church, according to its custom of absorbing pagan beliefs, placed sacred pagan wells under the protection of saints.⁷ And the same practice was extended to thorn trees. "From the custody of the fairies the thorn trees are sometimes transferred to the saints," says Wood-Martin, and he mentions Patrick's Bush, an ancient thorn beside a spring in Wicklow.⁸ A well in Shropshire is dedicated to St. Hawthorne, a saint whom it is difficult to identify.⁹ And in Cornwall

is a well especially famous for healing—St. Madron's (or Maderne's) Well, with a large and ancient thorn growing from the walls of the ruined chapel dedicated to St. Madron.¹⁰ Madron was presumably a male saint, but the legends at the well were apparently confused. Hope quotes Dr. Borlase as writing, "... of late St. Maderne hath denied his (or her I know not whether) pristine ayde,¹¹ and Courtney applies the pronoun *her* to this very ambiguous saint.¹² Certainly the name Madron arouses the suspicion that this well with its thorn tree near a stream might have been named for a woman who was no Christian saint—Modron, Welsh prototype of Morgain la Fée. Modron's association with a thorn tree near a stream would not be surprising, and her French counterpart Morgain would have been quite capable of performing the cures.

Poetry and especially the romances reflect the association in the medieval mind of a thorn tree with magic, with wells, streams, or fords, and even with the traditional ford combat. The narrator in *Wynnere and Wastoure*¹³ went to sleep by a hawthorn near "a bonke of a bourne" and had a remarkable dream (vss. 32-36). Similarly, the story-teller in the alliterative *Death and Liffe* sat "under a huge hawthorne" near a river, bent his back "to the bole," fell asleep, and dreamed of marvels (vss. 26 ff).¹⁴ A group of ladies in *Sire Degarre*¹⁵ fell asleep, according to one manuscript, underneath a hawthorn tree while one of their number wandered off and met a fairy knight (vss. 74 ff). In an episode in *Fergus*¹⁶ reminiscent of the first episode in *Pwyll*, Arthur and his knights found Perceval at a ford near a thorn tree (Au gué parfont les une espine—vs. 37, p. 7). Bérout's *Tristan*¹⁷ refers to "le Gué Aventuros, / Et iluec a une aube espine" (vss. 1320-1321), and *Mervelles de Rigomer*¹⁸ to the Gués de Blancë Espine, where *Morge, li fée*, was, and a large company of ladies and damsels (vss. 9433 ff). And in the English *Ywain and Gawain*¹⁹ the marvelous adventure of Colgrevance took place at a thorn tree beside a well (vs. 353). But of still greater interest for us is the connection of the thorn tree with the ford combat. Professor Loomis has called attention to Gasozein, who guards the ford of the Blackthorn in *Diu Crône*; to Gareth, who came to a blackthorn in a black

glade (*launde*) immediately after his battle at a ford (Malory, Book VII, Chap. vi); and to Urbain, guardian of the ford in *Didot Perceval*, who was son of the Queen of the Blackthorn.²⁰

In *Le Lai de l'Espine*,²¹ the connection of a lady with the thorn tree at the ford is explicit. The prince's *amie* fell asleep under a grafted tree in her orchard and was spirited away by magic to the Ford of the Thorn, where the prince was already awaiting his adventure. He greeted her, it will be remembered, "Et pus l'asiet desoz l'espine" (vs. 300). When he had captured the horse of his opponent in the ford combat, he crossed the ford and presented the steed to his lady beneath the thorn. After the combat with the two companions of the first opponent the prince went to his *amie* beneath the thorn, lifted her before him on his horse, and departed. At home the entire court marveled when they heard of the knight's adventure—

Premierement de la meschine,
Com la trova desoz l'espine.

Vss. 491-492

That there might be no doubt of the importance of this thorn tree and of its relation to the ford combat, the *lai* makes the point doubly clear:

Por ce que il avint au gué
En ont li Breton esgardé
Que li lais ne recevroit non
De rien se de l'espine non.
Ne l'ont pas des enfanz nommé,
Ainz l'ont de l'espine apelé,
Si a non li lais de l'espine . . .

Vss. 507-513

Surely this was a magic thorn tree that gave the name to the adventurous ford by which it grew and to the Breton *lai* that told the story of the adventure. And the damsel who was magically spirited away to this thorn tree in her sleep, who from beneath it watched the battle and stopped it by calling

out—her connection with the thorn is not fortuitous. Rather, both the thorn tree and the lady beneath it belong to the tradition of the ford combat.

Sir Cawline, a ballad closely related to *Eger and Grime*,²² has as its first adventure an encounter similar to the battles with Graysteel. In this adventure the place of meeting is a thorn tree on a fairy hill (Eldrige Hill). Two ladies are involved, one of whom appears at the thorn at midnight. The ballad has so many resemblances to *Eger* that a summary will be revealing.

Sir Cawline became sick for love of a king's daughter. The king sent his daughter, "a leech full fine," to heal Cawline. She rebuked Cawline for lying in his bed "soe cowardly." He asked for deeds of arms to prove himself worthy of her love. She bade him go to watch all night at a thorn tree on Eldrige Hill. There he would meet an 'eldritch' king, from an encounter with whom no man had come away alive, said the lady, "since the day that I was borne."

Cawline, according to the princess' bidding, went to the moors. At midnight a furious king appeared. A fair lady led his horse by the bridle. Cawline encountered the eldritch king and cut off his hand. The king and his damsel then departed to their castle. Cawline presented the hand of the eldritch king, with five rings on the fingers, and his eldritch sword to the king's daughter.

After killing a giant soldan with the eldritch sword and a fierce lion with no weapon at all, Cawline married the king's daughter.

The night combat with a supernatural opponent, undertaken for love of a proud lady, the defeat of the mighty champion and the cutting off of his hand with its rings on every finger, the presenting of the hand to a lady, the power of a lady to heal the hero's wounds—all these are similar to *Eger and Grime* and reveal the same underlying tradition. But

of especial interest to us here is the fact that the proud king's daughter, with her power of "leeching" sent Cawline to an adventure at a thorn tree on an eldritch hill. And at this thorn tree there appeared with the eldritch king a damsel who stopped the combat by crying out, much as the lady of the thorn in *L'Espine* had stopped a similar combat.²³

Maugis d'Aigremont, a *chanson de geste* of great interest for Arthurian romance, has in it a fay Oriande, whose connection with a thorn tree is important in the action of the story. Two episodes are relevant.²⁴

A female slave had kidnapped Maugis, one of the twin sons of Bueves of Aigremont. She lay down to rest with the infant in a glade under a fairy thorn (*En une large lande, soz l'espine a la fee*—vs. 396). A lion and a leopard appeared, devoured the slave, and killed each other in a fight over the child. Oriande la fee came to this thorn, for she was accustomed to rest beneath it (*Quant elle i selt passer, reposer i soloit*—vs. 459). Seating herself beneath the thorn, she found the weeping child. She took Maugis with her to her castle Rocheflor and reared him tenderly.

Nowhere is the connection of a fay with a thorn tree more definite than throughout this passage. And later in the *chanson de geste* the thorn tree figures in an incident similar to the combats in *L'Espine* and *Sir Cawline*.

When Maugis returned to Mongibel after winning the marvelous horse Baiart in an adventure on the burning island Boccan, he found that a Saracen king, Antenor, with a large army, was besieging Oriande's castle. Looking closer, he saw a Saracen in armour beneath a thorn tree. Maugis and the Saracen fought. Though not properly armed, Maugis defeated his opponent. Then he dismounted "*desoz l'espine*" and took the lance and shield of the pagan. Thus armed, he rode on, but soon encountered a second

powerful Saracen. Maugis struck him and hurled him to his death beneath a whitethorn. Oriande, looking from the window of her castle and failing to recognize Maugis in his Saracen arms, grieved for his supposed death on the burning island. Later in a more difficult combat Maugis killed the Saracen king who was besieging Oriande.

In this passage the thorn (*l'espine*) is twice mentioned, a whitethorn (*aubeespin*) once. As in *L'Espine* and *Cawline*, the combats between the hero and his formidable opponents take place beneath a thorn tree, and a fay of the thorn is implicated.

In summary, then, magic thorn trees by wells or streams have long been a commonplace of folklore. That a thorn by a stream had a peculiar potency is a belief reflected in the romances that refer to a thorn by an adventurous ford. Sometimes, as in *L'Espine*, *Sir Cawline*, and *Maugis d'Aigremont*, a thorn figures in a combat similar to that in *Eger*. In the *Lai*, *Cawline*, and *Maugis*, moreover, a fay is concerned in the outcome of the combat and has clearly some relation to the thorn.

What, then, of *Eger and Grime*? Since the romance has so much in common with *L'Espine* and *Sir Cawline*, it is natural to look for a lady of the thorn in *Eger*. True, *Eger* mentions no thorn tree. But the lady who magically heals Eger's wounds and who is deeply involved in the defeat of Graysteel, is in the Percy version named Loosepine (or Loosepaine).²⁶ The poem, to be sure, has its explanation of the name.

Why was shee called Loosepaine?
A better Leech was none certaine.

P, vss. 1407-08

So a poet who did not understand the tradition with which he was dealing might explain the name of a heroine in a Middle English romance who was the "conningest leech in this land"—who had indeed the power to "free from pain." But this explanation did not take into account the history behind the romance—the Breton *conteurs* who told their *contes* in French,

the French romances which had mirrored the tradition. The "gué . . . les une espine" in *Fergus*, the "Aube espine" by the "Gué Aventuros" in Bérout's *Tristran*, the "Gués de Blancë Espine" in *Rigomer*, the "vurt vür Noirespine" in *Diu Crône* (the Middle High German romance keeps the French form), the "gué de l'espine" in the *lai* of the thorn—the constant association of *l'espine* with fords and with the ford combat must not be forgotten. Like the damsel in *Le Lai de l'Espine*, the heroine of *Eger* must have been, in the tradition behind *Eger*, the lady of the thorn, *la dame de l'espine*—in her English spelling, Loosepine.

Besides her name, Loosepine gives one other possible clue to her identity as lady of the thorn. After his battle with Graysteel, Eger rode until he came to a castle. He dismounted "by an arbour side"—

and a lady came forth of a fresh Arbor;
shee came forth of that garden greene.

P, vss. 212-213

In view of the evidence for the thorn tree and its connection with the fay in *L'Espine* and *Sir Cawline*, it is tempting to guess that the fresh arbor in the garden green was in earlier tradition a thorn tree. The lady's name makes the guess possible.

Thus, Loosepine's name and perhaps her appearance from an arbor are to be explained by her being the lady of the thorn. But we may hope to identify at closer range the traditions behind Loosepine.

Loosepine—Morgain la Fée

As Lady of the thorn, then, Loosepine is akin to the fays who visit the thorn trees of folklore and to the fays of the thorn in the romances. More specifically, she has fallen heir to the traditions of the most ubiquitous and yet elusive fay of Arthurian romance—Morgain la Fée. An episode in the *Didot-Perceval*²⁶ will show something of the relationship.

The incident is that in which Perceval encounters and

defeats a knight at the Ford Perilous, called in several romances the Ford of the Thorn. The defeated knight, Urbain, who introduces himself as son of the Queen of the Blackthorn, tells Perceval of his mistress. She dwells in an enchanted castle near the ford. We can readily identify her as Morgain la Fée by two attributes: she apparently has a home in Avalon, and she and her sisters appear in the form of blackbirds. That Morgain dwelt in Avalon is too well known to require proof. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini*, containing the first mention of Morgain in literature, represents her as healing Arthur's wounds on an island that in the *Gesta Regum Britanniae* is called Avalon.²⁷ And Arthur in Lagamon's *Brut* says—

And ich wulle uaren to Avalū:
To uairest alre maidene.
to Argante þere quene
alven swiþe sceone.²⁸

The "alven swiþe sceone" is Morgain, and *Argante* is an easy and natural substitution for the name *Morgain*, as Lucy Paton has shown.²⁹ Moreover, the appearance of a flock of blackbirds to annoy Perceval and give Urbain an advantage in the combat offers an identification of Morgain almost as distinctive as the reference to Avalon. It will be remembered that when Perceval struck one of the blackbirds dead, it turned into a beautiful woman and was borne away by the other birds. Urbain explained that the bird was the sister of his mistress and that she was now safe in Avalon. In writing of this passage, Jessie L. Weston noted Morgain's predilection for assuming bird shape, and quoted the *Vita Merlini* and the *Prophecies of Merlin* in support of her point.³⁰

Significant also is an incident from the *Cattle-Raid of Cooley*, in which the Morrigan took various shapes in order to annoy Cuchulainn when he was engaged in a ford combat. When he succeeded in wounding her, she was magically healed, and taking the form of a crow, she flew to a whitethorn bush.³¹ Lucy Paton, Cross, and Professor Loomis have shown the close relation between the Morrigan and Morgain.³² The relation-

ships of Irish and Welsh traditions behind this ford combat and the one in *Didot-Perceval* are complex, but it is particularly the similarity of the roles of the Morrigan and Morgain that concerns us. Since traditions of the Morrigan underlie those of Morgain, the Morrigan's appearance as a crow in a ford combat makes the identification of Morgain doubly certain in the *Didot-Perceval* passage where she and her sisters appear as blackbirds.

Loosepine, the damsel who in *Eger* is concerned in the outcome of a combat beyond a ford, has a number of similarities to the fay we may take to be Morgain in the *Didot-Perceval* episode.

Urbain's mistress (Morgain) dwells in a beautiful castle beyond a ford.	Loosepine dwells in a beautiful castle beyond a ford.
She entertains Urbain in her castle.	She entertains Eger, then Grime, in her castle.
She is actively involved in the combat at the ford.	She is actively involved in the combat beyond the ford.

To be sure, the heroines of romance are accustomed to live in castles and to be concerned in the battles of knights. But the battles in which Urbain's mistress and Loosepine are implicated stem from a strong tradition, that of the Welsh ford combat. Morgain la Fée is Urbain's mistress; Morgain evidently belongs in the tradition of the ford combat. The resemblances to Loosepine are definite enough to suggest that traditions of Morgain have influenced the heroine of *Eger*. And there is further evidence.

The fay Oriande in *Maugis d'Aigremont*, we have seen, was like Loosepine a lady of the thorn. She also resembles Loosepine in other ways. And Oriande is apparently essentially the same lady as Morgain. Professor Helaine Newstead has made the identification.³³ The initial *M* in Morgain's name was frequently dropped in manuscripts,³⁴ so that *Oriande* (like *Argante* and *Urganda*) is a variant form of *Morgain*. Oriande la fee dwelt on Mongibel (Mt. Etna), as did Morgain.³⁵ In her

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rearing of Maugis, her knighting of him, her instructions to him, her explanation to him of his parentage, and in being both foster mother and mistress to the hero, as in other detailed resemblances, Oriande reveals her identity with Morgain.

Now Oriande's resemblance to Loosepine is so marked as to make probable the same tradition behind both—a tradition of Morgain la Fée. Briefly the similarities are these:

Oriande is accustomed to rest beneath a thorn tree	Loosepine's name reveals her connection with a thorn
Oriande is besieged by an enemy against whom Maugis must defend her	Loosepine has an enemy against whom Grime must defend her
Oriande instructs Maugis before the battle	Loosepine instructs Grime before the battle
Maugis kills Antenor after first killing two other pagans beneath a thorn tree	Grime kills Graysteel in a combat beyond a ford
Oriande cares for Maugis in her castle	Loosepine entertains Eger, then Grime, in her castle
Oriande is the mistress of Maugis	Loosepine loves and weds Grime
Oriande heals Maugis's wounds after the battle	Loosepine heals Eger's wounds after the battle

Although Maugis's battle with Antenor was not a ford combat, it is noteworthy that before Maugis fought with Antenor and while Oriande looked on from the window of her castle, Maugis disposed of two pagans in Antenor's army in two preliminary battles beneath a thorn tree. As in *Cawline* and *L'Espine* the fay is present. No ford is mentioned; the thorn that stood at the ford in *L'Espine* and in *Diu Crône* alone remains in *Maugis* as in *Cawline* to indicate the place of the combat—and the presence of a pervasive tradition.

Oriande's healing of Maugis's wounds and Loosepine's healing of Eger may seem a mere commonplace of romance, but in the light of Oriande's identification with Morgain and

the probability of Looseline's relation to the same fay, the healing power of the two ladies becomes significant. Morgain's power to heal is undoubtedly her best-known attribute. In *Vita Merlini* Geoffrey records her use of herbs to cure the sick:

Morgen ei nomen didicit que quid utilitatis
Gramina cuncta ferant ut languida corpora curet.³⁶

The same passage tells of Arthur's journey to Morgain's Fortunate Isle for healing of his wounds after the battle of Camlan, and of Morgain's welcome to the king and assurance of her power to heal him.³⁷ *Lazamon* puts Arthur's wish to go to Morgain (Argante) in the words of Arthur himself:

& heo scal mine wunden:
makien alle isunde.
al hal me makien:
mid haleweize drēchen.³⁸

Chrétien's Erec was healed by a magic *antret* that Morgain (Morgue) gave to Arthur;³⁹ and Hartmann von Aue in his *Erec* goes beyond Chrétien's account to add a description of Fâ-murgan (Morgain la Fée) that makes her a medieval sorceress comparable to beings who brought the dead to life:

der dâ vor was lange tât,
daz er erstuont wol gesunt. . . .⁴⁰

Morgain's reputation for healing was established in early tradition, and her power was no ordinary one. Since the traditions of Morgain have strongly influenced the *matière de Bretagne*, it is not surprising that that influence shows itself often in the healing power of ladies in the romances. In fact, whenever these ladies have power to heal that has something of magic in it, we may suspect Morgain's influence.

The healing of Maugis's wounds took place at Oriande's castle Rocheflor while the hero sojourned with the fay after his battle with Antenor:

EGER AND GRIME

Maugis en Rocheflor fu en son bel manage,
A sejour o s'amie qui l'aime de corrage;
Gariz est de ses plaies, si ne sent nul malage,
Assez est plus aese que nuz de son lignage.⁴¹

Similarly, at her castle Loosepine healed the wounds of Eger after his battle with Graysteel. She dressed his wounds and gave him a "drinke in a horn" that had marvelous results. Eger tells Grime—

& then shee gaue me drinke in a horne;
neuer since the time that I was borne
such a draught I neuer gatt;
with her hand shee held me after thatt.

the drinke shee gaue me was grasse greene;
soone in my wounds itt was seene;
the blood was away, the drinke was there,
& all was soft that erst was sore;
& methought I was able to run & stand,
& to haue taken a new battell in hand;
the birds sange in the greene Arbor. . . .

P, vss. 287-297

That this was no ordinary drink Eger well realized, for he said—

". . . al deare good Madam, how may this be?
the conningest leech in this land be yee;
for all my wounds lesse or more,
of them I feele noe kind of sore
as I had neuer beene wounded with sword nor spear . . ."

P, vss. 315-319

Perhaps the fact that Eger's grass-green drink was offered to him in a horn had something to do with its extraordinary potency. For the romances credit Morgain with possessing a

magic horn that had the power to heal the sick. The horn, to be sure, is apparently both a blast horn and a drinking horn. In *Huon* the blast of the marvelous horn of Auberon had the power to cure the sick,⁴² and from the Prologue to *Huon* we know that this horn had belonged to Auberon's mother Morgain, from whom Auberon had received it.⁴³ Morgain's magic drinking horn is mentioned in the romances several times. Now Lucy Paton has noted that a medieval horn frequently served as a goblet, and Professor Newstead has shown that the confusion of blast horn and drinking horn was a natural one that was made a number of times in the romances.⁴⁴ At any rate, Morgain's magic horn was traditional and may well explain the healing drink *in a horn* that both versions of the poem say Loosepine gave to the wounded Eger. That the drink was green was to be expected, for green is well known to be a fairy color.⁴⁵

A further bit of evidence for Morgain traditions in *Eger*, minor to be sure, but worth noting, is the fact that Loosepine has two attendant damsels. For Morgain was frequently accompanied by two fays. In *Floriant et Florete*, for example, the three fays are mentioned:

Un poi devant la mie nuit
S'en revenoient en de deduit
.III. fees de la mer salee;
La mestresse d'aux ert nommee
Morgain, la suer le roi Artu.⁴⁶

So in the Breton *lai* *Lanval* two damsels attended Lanval's fairy mistress,⁴⁷ who, though not named, reveals her identity by ravishing the hero away to the island of Avalon at the end. Similarly, after conducting him to his chamber, Loosepine's two maidens at his bedside "sweetly sang" to the accompaniment of Loosepine's "souter" while Eger rested from his battle. The two damsels again sang in Grime's chamber while Loosepine played "full love somlye" for his entertainment before the battle with Graysteel. Morgain's two fays may well account for Loosepine's two attendant maidens.

The relationships that indicate Loosepine's indebtedness to traditions of Morgain may be briefly summarized:

1. The lady dwelt in a beautiful castle (DP, M, E) beyond a ford (DP, E).
2. She entertained the hero at her castle (DP, M, E).
3. She was deeply concerned in a combat at or beyond a ford (DP, E; at a thorn tree—M).
4. She healed the hero's wounds after the battle (M, E).
5. The thorn tree is important in the tradition of the lady (M, E; in DP Urbain was son of the Queen of the Blackthorn).
6. Like Morgain in other romances Loosepine is attended by two damsels.

By the fifteenth century, to which our versions of *Eger* belong, the process of rationalization has gone far. Nearly everything has faded to the light of common day. In the poem Loosepine's name is explained, we have seen, by her power to free from pain; in her healing of Eger she uses approved medieval methods of "leeching" as well as the marvelous grassgreen drink; her castle is a substantial one belonging to her father, Earl Gares; her love is given to Eger only with the accompaniment of her hand in marriage. Yet she has been recognized for what she is by scholars who have studied the romance. Schofield spoke unequivocally of the "fay Loosepaine" and her Other-world dwelling; and Elizabeth Willson, Laura Hibbard (Loomis), Professor Caldwell, and Professor Loomis have recognized her as a fay and *Eger* as a fairy mistress story.⁴⁸

Even Loosepine's beauty is not that of the conventional heroine of romance. The "spot of red" between her eyes "like to the mountenance of a pin" identified Loosepine for Grime as the lady of whom Eger had told him. Laura Hibbard has shown that this is a "love-spot" having its parallel in Celtic story.⁴⁹ The love-spot of Diarmaid made him irresistible to all women. And immediately after Grime recognized Loosepine "by the tokens of Sir Eger"—

his mind on her was soe sett
that all other matters he quite forgett.

P, vss. 799-800

Other hints of Loosepine's fairy nature have been previously treated, and need only be mentioned here. Elizabeth Willson considered the music with which Loosepine entertained Eger and Grime to be fairy music. She also pointed out that the two bottles of wine that Loosepine gave Eger must have been fairy food, since they sustained him for his long journey home:⁶⁰

. . . 2 bottels of rich wine,
& thereof haue I liued euer sinne.

P, vss. 313-314

And in Loosepine's reluctance to let Eger leave ("I rede you tarry a day or towe . . ." P, vs. 301) she found "a vestige of the prohibition or warning about returning which the Fairy Mistress almost always gives."⁶¹ For all of these points Elizabeth Willson cited Celtic parallels. Professor Caldwell also considered the music, the food, and Loosepine's reluctance to let Eger leave, indications that Eger's whole expedition was a sojourn with a fay in the Celtic Otherworld, and discussed them fully.⁶²

The lady Loosepine can with fairness be considered a fay, and the traditions of the best-known fay of Arthurian romance—Morgain—explain much about her behavior.

Loosepine—Arawn's Wife

The hospitality of a fay dwelling in a castle beyond a ford to a mortal in connection with a ford combat, we have seen, was a link between Loosepine and Morgain (Urbain's mistress) in the *Didot-Perceval* episode. The wife of Arawn in *Pwyll*, it will be remembered, dwelt also in a castle beyond a ford and received Pwyll there before his ford combat with Hafgan. Thus a relationship to Loosepine suggests itself.

That Morgain and Arawn's wife behave similarly is not surprising, since there appears to be the closest possible relationship between them. To understand that relationship will help us to understand the relationship of Loosepine to both. In the first place, the Welsh prototype of Morgain is Modron. A triad tells us that Modron was the daughter of Avallach and the mother of Owein by Urien.⁵³ Since Morgain was the daughter of Avaloc or Avallo, and mother of Ivain by Urien, the identification is established.⁵⁴

And there is evidence that Modron was Arawn's wife. A Welsh manuscript of about 1556 tells a story that evidently contains ancient materials and that suggests the identification.⁵⁵ At the Ford of the Barking, where the dogs of the country would come to bark, Urien met a woman who told him that she was a daughter of the king of Annwn. She welcomed his arrival, and he had possession of her. A year later when he returned to the ford, she presented him with twins, Owain and Morfudd. Since the names of the twins correspond with those that a triad says Modron bore to Urien,⁵⁶ the woman is Modron. But Modron, the woman at a ford where dogs bark, who states her relationship to a king of Annwn and welcomes Urien, suggests Arawn's wife, welcoming Pwyll and dwelling near a ford where a king of Annwn hunted with his pack of hounds—the *cwn Annwn*.

For corroboration of the identity of Modron and Arawn's wife we may look at the *Didot-Perceval* episode in which we saw that Urbain's fairy mistress revealed herself as Morgain.⁵⁷ In this story there is an obvious resemblance to the ford episode in *Pwyll*. In both, an Otherworld lady entertains in her castle beyond a ford a hero whose business it is to guard the ford against intruders. In both a period of a year is involved (Urbain was to guard the ford for a year; Pwyll was to fight Hafgan "a year from tonight"). A combat that takes place at the ford so guarded is the important matter in the two similar episodes. In the *Didot-Perceval* passage there is an abundance of Welsh material.⁵⁸ In the light of this evidence of Welsh background the resemblances warrant the belief that the *Didot-Perceval* incident reflects the *Pwyll* tradition. But the fay in

Didot-Perceval is Morgain. And since Morgain may be identified with Modron, Modron would then appear to be her prototype in *Pwyll*—and the wife of Arawn.

Naturally enough, then, Loosepine resembles Arawn's wife as well as Morgain in her hospitality to the hero at her ford castle. But Loosepine's resemblances to Arawn's wife are not completely indicated by her similarities to Morgain. The parallels between the two ladies are these:

Pwyll thought Arawn's wife
the fairest woman he had
ever beheld

Arawn's wife dwelt in a
beautiful palace near a ford

In her palace she enter-
tained Pwyll when, in the
form of Arawn, he substi-
tuted for Arawn before the
battle with Hafgan

At first deceived by Pwyll's
disguise as Arawn, she later
received Arawn's explana-
tion

Eger thought Loosepine the
fairest creature he had ever
seen

Loosepine dwelt in a
beautiful castle beyond a
ford

In her castle she enter-
tained Grime when, dis-
guised as Eger, he substi-
tuted for Eger before the
battle with Graysteel

Momentarily deceived by
Grime's disguise as Eger,
she later received Grime's
explanation

The beauty of both fays is, of course, significant only in combination with the other features of the story, since heroines of the romances were proverbially beautiful. And the entertainment of the hero in a castle near a ford is a feature that we have seen Loosepine shared with Morgain (Urbain's mistress) as well as with Arawn's wife. The distinctive similarity between Loosepine and Arawn's wife not found in Loosepine's relation to Morgain is then the relation of each lady to *two* friends, one of whom substituted for the other in a ford combat with a more-than-mortal antagonist. Though the same Welsh tradition underlies the ford combat in *Didot-Perceval*, *Le Lai de l'Espine*, and *Eger*, it is, of these, only *Eger* that keeps the friendship

motif so important in *Pwyll*. As often happens when oral tradition has been at work, the latest composition has preserved original features lost in earlier versions.

Indeed this phenomenon and other ways of tradition are illustrated in the lady Loosepine. In her, evidently, two lines of tradition meet, both going back ultimately to the same Welsh ford complex. The influence of the French *fée* Morgain is to be found, though further to seek in the well-behaved Scottish heroine than in Urbain's mistress or Oriande. At the same time Loosepine appears to inherit part of her story more directly from the dimly remote wife of a king of Annwn. That the story came down in different forms will not seem surprising if we remember the background of the romances. Many, many stories preserving the Welsh ford tradition must have been in circulation as the *conteurs* combined and recombined the elements at their disposal. As the storytellers shaped their material, the conservative power of tradition was always at work, and explains much that seems irrelevant or disconnected. Why, for example, should Maugis in a *chanson de geste* kill the Saracen enemy of Oriande on Mt. Etna (Mongibel) beneath a thorn tree, and Sir Cawline similarly on his Scottish moors kill his eldritch king underneath a thorn? Why, indeed, except for the tenacity of tradition—the same tenacity that attributed to Oriande the habit of resting beneath "l'espine a la fee" and named our heroine Loosepine? An opposing tendency, equally strong, led the story-tellers to rationalize whatever they did not understand in an attempt to bring order out of confusion. So, for instance, Loosepine's name is explained as due to her healing power. So, too, as if the drink in a magic horn were not enough to heal Eger's wounds, she uses medieval methods of medicine—no doubt a concession to fifteenth century skepticism.⁵⁹ If we remember these and many more curious contradictions and complexities, it will not seem strange if in Loosepine we can find with equal propriety a gracious and decorous fifteenth century hostess and a fay who entertained the hero in her Otherworld castle, or the elusive Morgain and Arawn's mysterious Queen.

To recapitulate, Loosepine is the lady of the thorn, *la*

dame de l'espine, as we know from her relationship to the fays of the thorn in *Lai de l'Espine*, *Sir Cawline*, and *Maugis d'Aigremont*. Her connection with the thorn accounts for her name and possibly for her appearance from "an arbor green." As the lady of the thorn, she reveals her relationship to Morgain la Fée—a relationship that her similarities to Urbain's mistress in *Didot-Perceval* and to Oriande in *Maugis* most clearly reveal. Her indebtedness to Morgain explains her healing power and perhaps her two attendant damsels, and shows itself in her entertainment of the hero in a beautiful castle beyond a ford.

Besides inheriting traditions of Morgain, she seemingly owes something to Morgain's prototype, the Welsh Modron, who has been identified as Arawn's wife. To the influence of Arawn's wife, Loosepine may owe in part her supernatural beauty, and more surely her entertainment of the hero who comes to her castle beyond a ford to substitute for his friend in mortal combat with an Otherworld champion. To the same source she owes her momentary mistake in supposing the man to be the friend for whom he is substituting and her acceptance of his explanation when she learns that he is not. Remarkable it is indeed that Loosepine emerges from the hands of the Scottish poet as a charming heroine, understandable in terms of human motives, in spite of the complex tradition that accounts for the whole central pattern of her behavior.

CHAPTER VI

WINLIANE

"... chyding att home" P, vs. 721

Very different from the lovely and gracious Loosepine is the other lady of the romance—Winliane.¹ Our introduction to her in the early lines of the poem is a statement of the proud terms on which a suitor may hope to win her hand. A little later, in her scarlet robe, she stands at Grime's chamber door to listen secretly while Eger tells Grime of his defeat by Graysteel. Again she comes to Grime's chamber and talks to Palyas of Eger's disgrace while Eger lies concealed behind double curtains and hears her "lowte him like a knave." Proud and bitterly sarcastic, she deserved a sharper rebuke than the one Grime subtly administered. Yet her unreasonable taunts to the man who loved her, her unkindness, and her pride she inherits from a greater lady, for it is to no less a one than Queen Guinevere that Winliane seemingly owes her name and her "chyding" tongue.

We need to review more exactly the role Winliane played in *Eger*.

Winliane, daughter of Earl Bragas, had stated that she would marry only a man successful in every battle he undertook. Because Eger had proved his valor she became betrothed to him. Eger returned home one night sorely wounded after having been defeated by Graysteel. Winliane listened secretly outside the chamber of Eger and Grime to Eger's account of his defeat to his sympathetic friend. As she departed Grime saw her, but concealed from Eger his knowledge of her presence.

In the days that followed, while Eger lay sick of his wounds, Winliane spoke contemptuously of his lack of prowess. Eger, roused by his lady's scorn, longed to avenge himself on Graysteel. Grime, however, proposed that, disguised as Eger, he should fight Graysteel, in the hope of restoring Eger to his lady's favor. Eger accepted this proposal.

Winliane said a caustic farewell to Eger. After watching Grime depart and thinking him to be Eger, she went to Grime's chamber, where in reply to Palyas's boast that Eger was the noblest knight in the land of Beam, she spoke with sharp abuse of Eger's misfortune. When Grime came home after a victory that she supposed to be Eger's, however, her pride was humbled, she remembered her love for Eger, and gladly became his wife.

Significant for us, in the first place, are Winliane's taunts to Eger resulting in Grime's setting out on an adventure for the purpose of establishing Eger's superiority. Thus simplified, the part played by Winliane proves to be a variation on a common Arthurian motif. In this pattern Guinevere usually, though not invariably, is the lady involved.

Not always treated with respect by tradition, Guinevere appears frequently in scenes with Arthur in which her rôle is less regal than domestic. Sometimes she expresses shame because Arthur has lost the honor and respect he formerly enjoyed. Sometimes she taunts her lord with his lack of prowess. In either case he is spurred to action by the humiliation her words cause him. The attitude of Winliane and her conduct toward Eger fit either of these slightly different forms of the same tradition, although because of the friendship motif Grime instead of Eger undertakes the adventure that is to prove Winliane in the wrong. In two romances, in fact—*Diu Crône* and *De Ortu Walwanii*—the quarrel between Arthur and Guinevere has been incorporated into the tradition of the Welsh Ford Combat that has influenced *Eger*, so that Winliane's tart ex-

pression of her disapproval of Eger bears a direct relationship to Guinevere's scenes with the King.

The traditional domestic conversation in which Guinevere is ashamed for Arthur is represented in a scene in the *Perlesvaus*.²

On Ascension Day at Cardueil the Queen was seated weeping at a window. When Arthur sat down beside her, she told him that she wept for shame because so few knights now came to court each day, and because there were now no adventures there as there had formerly been. The king replied that he no longer had the will to do anything that would win him honor, and he knew well that he was losing his knights and his friends. The Queen advised him what course to follow to win an adventure, and he gladly followed her advice.

Similar in tone is a conversation between Arthur and Guinevere in the Middle English stanzaic *Morte Arthur*.³ While the King lay in bed by the Queen, they talked of the great 'aunturs' that had formerly taken place in the land. Guinevere pointed out to the King that his glory was not what it had formerly been, and gave him good counsel:

"Syr, your honour by-gynnys to falle,
 That wount was wide in world to sprede,
 Off launcelott and of other all
 That euyr so doughty were in dede."
 "Dame, there-to thy counsell I calle:
 What were best for suche a nede?"
 "Yiff ye your honoure hold shalle,
 A turnement were best to bede.

 "Sir, lettis thus your courte no blynne
 But lyve in honoure and in pride."
 "Certys, dame," the kinge said thenne,
 "Thys ne shall no lenger abyde."

Vss. 25-32; 37-40

And promptly Arthur had a tournament proclaimed at Winchester.

But sometimes Arthur does not come off so easily when the Queen recognizes his defects. In *Arthur and Gorlagon*, a Latin werewolf tale of the thirteenth century, the occasion of a quarrel between Arthur and Guinevere was quite different from the situation in *Eger*, but the incidents are similar in that the Queen's sharp words roused Arthur and were the cause of an adventure.⁴ After the Pentecostal feast at Caerleon Arthur embraced and kissed Guinevere in the presence of the entire court. Amazed, she demanded an explanation of his ill-timed show of affection. In the conversation that followed she taunted him with not understanding a woman's nature or mind. Angrily Arthur vowed that he would not touch food until he had learned of these matters. He took Kay and Gawain and set out to learn the secret from King Gorgol.

King Arthur and King Cornwall, a fragmentary ballad in the Percy manuscript, presents many difficulties in interpretation. But there is no question of the haughty tone in which Guinevere addresses Arthur, as she tells him she knows a Round Table better than his, and refuses to tell him where to find it:

Then bespake Lady Queen Gueneuer,
 And these were the words said shee:
 'I know where a round table is, thou noble king,
 Is worth thy round table and other such three.'

 'Where may that table be, lady?' quoth hee,
 Or where may all that goodly building be?
 'You shall it seeke,' shee says, 'till you it find,
 For you shall neuer gett more of me.'⁵

Goaded by the Queen's sharp tongue, Arthur vowed he would never sleep two nights in the same place till he saw that Round Table, and taking four knights with him, he set out on a remarkable series of adventures.

In *Mervelles de Rigomer*⁶ the quarrel between Arthur and Guinevere occurs in a somewhat different form, though

representing the same tradition. To the King's boasts of his own valor, Guinevere agreed unqualifiedly; he was the greatest of earthly kings. But she would not agree with him that Gavains was the most valiant knight. He was good, "Mais ausi bon i puet avoir" (vs. 16232). The King was angry and threatened to cut off her head, but Gavains intervened and magnanimously settled the quarrel.

Behind these scenes is a Celtic story from which they may all ultimately derive. Professors Reinhard and Schlauch have pointed out the parallel between *The Death of Fergus Mac Leide* and the opening scene of the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*, and Professor Loomis has shown the dependence upon the Irish tale of various incidents in Arthurian romance having the theme of a boasting king who encounters misfortune when he sets out to meet a challenge to his pride.⁷ The chief similarity between the *Death of Fergus* and the scenes between Arthur and Guinevere occurs in the second part of the story.

Fergus, king of Ulster, was injured by a monster of Loch Rudraige so that his mouth was twisted to the back of his head. He did not know of the distortion, however, until his queen taunted him with it during a quarrel. Then he went to avenge himself upon the beast. He killed her, but received wounds that caused his own death.⁸

The king whose queen taunts him with a misfortune, his offended pride that leads him to seek an adventure resulting in humiliation—this is close to the scenes we have examined between Arthur and Guinevere and appears ultimately to account for them. Winliane's taunts to Eger, Eger's wounded pride, the outcome of his humiliation in Grime's journey undertaken in Eger's place—all represent clearly enough the same traditional pattern as that in the Irish story and its representatives in Arthurian romance.

But in *Diu Crône* and *De Ortu Walwanii* there is a closer parallel to *Eger*. For in these romances the Irish tradition of the *Death of Fergus Mac Leide* has coalesced with the Welsh tradi-

tion of the ford combat. And it is the meeting of the same traditions that best accounts for Winliane's taunts to Eger and the influence of those taunts in bringing about Grime's battle with Graysteel. Moreover, in *Diu Crône* and *De Ortu* Arthur's queen is the lady involved. A direct relationship between Guinevere and Winliane becomes probable.

The scene in *Diu Crône* and its sequel have been considered in the chapter on the Ford Combat.

On a cold day, as King Arthur was warming himself by the fire after hunting, Queen Ginover taunted him that she knew a knight whose endurance was greater than Arthur's, for he rode all through the winter clad only in a white shirt and singing love songs. He haunted the Ford of the Blackthorn. Arthur, annoyed and jealous, set out with Kai and two other knights to meet the stranger. At the Ford the strange knight (Gasozein) unhorsed Arthur's three companions and led away their steeds. He then met Arthur in an inconclusive encounter. Later in the story Gawain engaged in a mighty battle with Gasozein in an attempt to rescue Ginover for Arthur.

The similarities between this episode and *Eger* are apparent.

Diu Crône

Ginover taunts Arthur with her knowledge of a better knight than he.

Arthur's vexation at Ginover's taunts leads him to encounter Gasozein at a ford.

Arthur's companions are defeated, and Arthur has an inconclusive fight with Gasozein at the Ford of the Blackthorn.

Eger

Winliane taunts Eger because of his defeat by a more powerful knight.

Eger's shame at Winliane's taunts provides a motive for Grime's encounter with Graysteel beyond a ford.

Eger is defeated by Graysteel in a battle beyond a ford.

EGER AND GRIME

Gawein later engages in a Grime later engages in a mighty battle with Gasozein. mighty battle with Graysteel.

Not only, then, is Winliane's arrogant treatment of Eger very similar to Ginover's treatment of Arthur, but the scorn of each lady has its place in motivating a ford combat with many typical features.

A scene having many correspondences to the one in *Diu Crône* occurs in the Latin romance *De Ortu Walwanii*, dated by Bruce as of the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁹ Like the scene in the stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, this is, as Bruce has designated it, a "bolster conversation."¹⁰

One night as Arthur and his queen, Guendoloena, lay in bed together, Guendoloena inquired of the King whether he thought no other knight was his equal in valor. Arthur replied that he believed this to be the situation. Did not Guendoloena believe the same? Even then, she replied, a knight was on the way to Caerleon who would surpass Arthur in bravery. The stranger, she predicted, would send her two horses and other gifts.

A little later, when the Queen was asleep, Arthur departed, accompanied by Kai, to test the strange knight. Arthur encountered the knight, who later is found to be Gawain, at a ford in a swollen stream. Gawain, not recognizing the King, unhorsed him and Kai, and led away their steeds, leaving the two men to walk ignominiously home. Cold and wet, Arthur again went to bed, telling the Queen a lie to explain his sorry state. The Queen was frankly skeptical.

The next day Gawain sent the Queen the gifts she had predicted. Smiling, she received them. Then, leading the horses to Arthur's bed, she told him that the knight she had mentioned had sent her the horses after he had conquered their riders at the river. Arthur recognized his horses and was filled with shame.

The striking parallel between Guendoloena in this episode and Winliane is in the attitude of the two ladies. The disrespect in Guendoloena's treatment of Arthur, her pleasure, clearly implied, in Arthur's humiliation, her sarcasm at his expense as she led the horses to Arthur's couch and mentioned, without naming, the knights overwhelmed at the river—all these closely parallel the mood and temper of Winliane. And very similar in tone to the scene in *De Ortu* is that in the chamber where Eger lay humiliated behind the curtains and heard Winliane saying to Palyas:

he rydeth feircely out of the towne
as he were a wild Lyon.
alas! hee may make great boast & shoure
when there is noe man him before;
but when there is man to man, & steed to steede,
to proue his manhood, then were it neede.

P, vss. 663-668

And in addition to the taunts of the unfeeling ladies for their disgraced lords, the entire situation in *De Ortu* is similar to that in *Eger*. The parallels are as follows:

De Ortu Walwanii

Eger

Arthur is unhorsed by Gawain, a knight in crimson surcoat, at a ford.

Eger is defeated by Graysteel, a knight in red arms, in a battle beyond a ford.

Arthur arrives home on foot, humiliated.

Eger arrives home on foot, humiliated.

Arthur gives Guendoloena an incorrect account of his defeat.

Winliane overhears Eger's account of his defeat.

Gawain, victorious, takes Arthur's horse.

Grime, victorious in a later combat, takes Graysteel's horse.

Guendoloena taunts Arthur with his defeat, and he is ashamed.

Winliane taunts Eger with his defeat, and he is ashamed.

Guendoloena's taunts provide the incentive for Arthur's meeting Gawain in a ford combat. Winliane's taunts provide an incentive for Grime's combat with Graysteel.

Again, as in *Diu Crône*, Arthur's queen and Winliane play similar roles, and by their unmannerly taunts provide the incentive for a ford combat of traditional pattern.

In Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain* and the fourteenth century *Ywain and Gawain* occurs a scene that provides further and striking evidence of relationship between Guinevere and Winliane.¹¹ *Yvain*, like *Eger*, has been influenced by the tradition of the Welsh Ford Combat,¹² although the two combats in *Yvain* that borrow motifs from this tradition take place not at a ford but at a storm-making spring.

The plots of *Yvain* and *Eger* have much in common. Schofield noted that *Eger* was "a story of the *Ywain* type," and Laura Hibbard (Loomis) abundantly confirmed the relationship.¹³ The parallels she cited make it likely that the poet who made a fifteenth century redaction of *Eger* may have read the Middle English *Ywain*. Most striking similarity is a couplet that occurs in almost identical form in the two romances:

&, by the death that I must thole,
my steed seemed to his but a fole.

P, vss. 119-120

If the author of *Eger* did know *Ywain and Gawain*, however, the similarities in the two poems cannot be adequately accounted for as simply a borrowing of *Ywain* by *Eger*. Though both romances have been influenced by the tradition of the Ford Combat, the plot of each romance is complicated by the presence of traditional material not found in the other. To suppose that the Scottish author would borrow from *Ywain* and omit consistently all details based upon certain traditions to be found in *Ywain* and not in *Eger* would strain credulity, since he presumably did not recognize his traditional material, since he could hardly have had a motive for omitting these

details, and since some of the details omitted are excellent story stuff. Even in the incident that concerns us, the obvious differences could scarcely be explained if one poet were simply borrowing from the other. A common tradition of a lady whose eavesdropping upon a knight's account of his shame has become attached to the tradition of the Ford Combat, on the other hand, provides an explanation that accounts for the parallels. And as we shall see, an explanation of Winliane's name makes doubly clear the presence of tradition behind this scene.

A summary of the episode will indicate the correspondences. The summary is based on the Middle English *Ywain and Gawain*.

After a feast on Whitsunday at Cardiff, Arthur and the Queen went to their chamber to sleep. A group of knights kept watch at the door. One of these knights, Colgrevice, began to tell his companions of an adventure. The Queen overheard his tale, opened the chamber door, slipped out quietly, and sat down among the knights. Colgrevice alone saw her at first, and quickly rose. At Kay's insistence Guinevere requested Colgrevice to resume his story. Reluctantly, since it did him little credit, he did so.

Six years before, seeking adventure, he had ridden through a path in the wood. A courteous knight had welcomed him at a drawbridge and entertained him at his castle. A lovely damsel had removed his armour and sat before him at supper. Next morning he had set out, and at a thorn tree by a storm-making well had encountered a knight on a huge horse. The knight had easily unhorsed Colgrevice, and while Colgrevice lay exhausted upon the ground, had led away his horse and departed. The hospitable knight and the fair damsel again had entertained Colgrevice after his humiliating encounter.

When Colgrevice had ended his tale, Ywain insisted that because he was "cosyn iermayne" to Colgrevice, he would seek to avenge his misfortune.

Secretly Ywain set out, experienced the same series of adventures as Colgrevice had done, but succeeded in killing the knight, Salados the Rouse, and so avenging Colgrevice's shame.

The parallels with the incident in *Eger* are many:

Ywain and Gawain

Guinevere, after having gone to bed, overhears Colgrevice's story of his defeat.

Colgrevice's story:

Colgrevice has met Salados the Rouse by a magic well beside a thorn tree.

Colgrevice has been defeated by Salados.

Colgrevice has been entertained at a castle, where a fair damsel has served him.

Ywain, because he is Colgrevice's "cosyn iermayne," goes to do combat with Salados to avenge Colgrevice.

Ywain defeats Salados.

Eger

Winliane, after having gone to bed, gets up and goes to Grime's chamber, where she overhears a story of Eger's defeat.

Eger's story:

Eger has met Graysteel beyond a ford in a "forbidden country."

Eger has been defeated by Graysteel.

Eger has been entertained at a castle, where Loosepine has welcomed him.

Grime, because he is Eger's sworn brother, goes to do combat with Graysteel to avenge Eger.

Grime defeats Graysteel.

The defeat of the hero in a battle and the substitution of a friend for him in a second adventure like the first but resulting in victory rather than defeat—these are clear parallels. But the similarity in the circumstances in which the defeated heroes tell their story is especially striking: the Queen in her chamber overhears Colgrevice's story, quietly rises, and slips into the group of knights to hear more; Winliane stands secretly at

Grime's chamber door to listen to Eger's tale and then slips away, seen only by Grime. Again Guinevere and Winliane play similar roles—this time that of a lady eavesdropping upon an account of shameful defeat by a humiliated knight.

Somewhat similarly, we know, Guendoloena in *De Ortu* listened to Arthur's story when he returned after an unfortunate encounter at a ford. In both *De Ortu* and *Diu Crône* the taunts of the proud Queen led Arthur to a misadventure in a ford combat. In a number of romances Guinevere's recognition of Arthur's failings challenged the King to start out upon an adventure. And Winliane's relation to Eger has shown correspondences to all of these situations. Again and again, in fact, we have seen that Winliane's behavior has fitted a pattern that traditionally belongs to Arthur's queen. And the name Winliane is good evidence of Winliane's right to usurp traditions of Guinevere.

The name Winliane is a close equivalent of the common Welsh name Gwenllian,¹⁴ and evidently comes directly from that name. The Queen of Arthur in *De Ortu Walwanii* we saw was called Guendoloena. Although Guendoloena is not used for Guinevere except in *De Ortu*, the name occurs in Geoffrey of Monmouth and in Giraldus Cambrensis.¹⁵ Ferdinand Lot and Professor Loomis noted independently that the *do* in Guendoloena was added under the influence of the Welsh name Gwenddoleu.¹⁶ Indeed, certain manuscripts of the *Itinerarium Kambriae* have Guenliana instead of Guendoloena,¹⁷ a fact apparently indicating that the *do* does not belong to the name and that Guendoloena was a corrupt Latin form of Welsh Gwenllian. A similar indication is the fact that the editor of the *Itinerarium* gives Gwenllian as the name of the Welsh princesses that in Giraldus' Latin appears as Guendoloena.¹⁸ Winliane is a form very close to Gwenllian and must derive from it. Guinevere, Guendoloena, Winliane—clearly there was some confusion in the use of the names. Arthur's queen in *Ywain*, Guendoloena Queen of Arthur in *De Ortu*, Winliane in *Eger*—the three ladies played similar roles.

It is interesting that a Breton name Winlogée (or Winlowen), similar to Welsh Gwenllian, was the name of a woman

in an abduction scene on the sculpture over the north portal of Modena Cathedral. It has been established that Winlogée, the woman represented in this scene, was Guinevere and that Winlogée is a form of the Breton name Winlowen.¹⁹ *Guen* 'white' or 'fair' was a common first syllable in both Welsh and Breton feminine names, the old Armorican spelling being *uuen* or *uuin*. *Uuinlouwen*, Winlowen (or Winlogée), then, according to Loth, meant 'white' and 'joyous' (*louuen*);²⁰ it was seemingly used by the Breton conteurs early in the twelfth century as a substitute for Welsh *Gwenhwyfar*.²¹

And Winlogée, Foerster noted, is identical with French Guinloie.²² Once at least in Arthurian romance a lady named Guinloie appears to have been influenced by traditions of Guinevere. In *Yder* Queen Guinloie is loved by Yder, who woos and wins her. But in the same romance Gelzer has shown that there are traces of a love between Guinevere and Yder—a tradition that was certainly well established, for in the Berne *Folie Tristan* (Vss. 234 ff.) the love of Yder for Guinevere is spoken of as if it were proverbially known.²³ Again, as so often in Arthurian romance, two conflicting traditions—this time two names for the same lady—apparently proved confusing. The author of *Yder* took care of the confusion by conveniently making two ladies in love with Yder—Guinloie and Guinevere,²⁴ not realizing that Guinloie might represent another name for Arthur's queen.

And the lady in *Eger*? To summarize briefly, Winliane we know played a part similar to that of Guinevere in a number of romances that we have examined. Her name *Winliane* was from Welsh *Gwenllian*, closely similar to Breton *Winlogée* (Winlowen) and to Latin *Guendoloena*, both of which names we know to have been substituted for Guinevere. Winliane's name thus aids us in identifying the traditions behind her as deriving from those of Guinevere.

Recognizing Winliane by her name, we see that her love for Eger may be a most significant link with Guinevere. Like Guinevere's counterpart Guinloie, Winliane required that the hero prove himself before he might hope to win her love. Like Guinloie she secretly informed herself concerning his move-

ments. Like Guinloie she married him when he had convinced her of his knightly prowess. But Eger has apparently been influenced by traditions of Yder.²⁵ The heroes whom the two ladies dictated to, spied upon, and married were, it may be, originally the same person. Winliane's love for Eger, then, may well reflect precisely the same tradition as Guinloie's for Yder. As Gaston Paris found a "souvenir atténué" of the love of Guinevere and Yder in the French romance *Yder*,²⁶ so in *Eger* there may be a "souvenir atténué" of that same love—Guinevere—Guinloie—Winliane and the love between the capricious lady and Yder, or Ydier—in the Scottish romance, *Sir Eger*.

All of this suggests bewildering confusion. But it is exactly the sort of confusion that is to be expected when oral tradition has presented an author with story material he does not understand.²⁷ We have ventured to separate the strands of a tangled skein. It is more difficult, perhaps impossible, to say *how* the threads became tangled. But certain possibilities suggest themselves. The earliest tradition concerned was the Irish one found in *The Death of Fergus Mac Leide*, in which a haughty queen taunted her husband with his defeat and by wounding his pride started him off upon an unlucky adventure. This motif, coming into the Arthurian romances, became attached to the most important queen of the cycle—Arthur's own. The scenes between Arthur and Guinevere in *Arthur and Gorlagon*, *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, and *Mervelles de Rigomer* attest this development, as presumably in a modified form those in *Perlesvaus* and the stanzaic *Morte Arthur* do also.

This tradition of a queen whose taunts were the cause of her husband's unfortunate battle with a supernatural monster at a loch coalesced with the Welsh tradition of the Ford Combat—a contamination natural enough, since the ford combat originally recorded a similar encounter with a supernatural champion, and a woman was concerned in the outcome. Winliane appears to have taken Guinevere's place in this combination of traditions: her "chyding" of Eger and the incentive it provides for the second ford combat stem from it. The motif of an eavesdropping queen who overheard a humiliated knight tell his story somehow became attached to the ford combat

tradition. This motif is at least suggested in Guendoloena's listening to Arthur's explanation of his misadventure in *De Ortu*, and accounts for a scene in *Ywain*. Winliane's eavesdropping upon Eger's story to Grime likewise reflects the combination of this tradition with that of the ford combat.

In briefest summary, traditions of Guinevere account for the following features in Winliane's story:

- (1) her taunts to Eger and the shame they cause him
- (2) her eavesdropping upon Eger's account of humiliating defeat
- (3) the effects of her taunts in bringing about a ford combat
- (4) quite possibly, her love for Eger
- (5) her name, through an intermediate Welsh name *Gwenllian*.

The Scottish author has of course put his stamp upon the material. For example, Grime's part in attempting to soften for Eger the blow of his lady's scorn is probably an original addition to the story. And we may detect a pleasure as the poet records the humbling of Winliane's pride when she thinks that Eger has returned victorious after killing Graysteel.

But in spite of the author's manipulation of his material, in spite of all the many and complex influences on the story, Winliane's words ring always with the same sarcastic pride that we observed in Guendoloena's remarks to her unfortunate spouse in *De Ortu*. After news of the wounded Eger, for example, she said to Grime—

"..... thats litle pittye:
he might full well haue bidden att home;
worshipp in that Land gatt he none;
he gaue a ffignar to lett him gange,
the next time he will offer vp the whole hand."

P, vss. 454-458

And when Grime suggested that it would be a kindness to urge Eger not to undertake a second dangerous battle with Graysteel, she unsympathetically told of the better knights she had "put by" for Eger:

"therfor I will not bidd him ryde,
Nor att home I will not bid him abyde,
Nor of his Marriage I haue Nothing adoe;
I wott not, Gryme, what thou saist therto."

P, vss. 481-484

Really, she didn't know what Grime was talking about! To Eger's fond, "Ffarwell, my Lady faire" (P, vs. 637), when, she supposed, he was setting out for a second encounter with Graysteel, Winliane replied with a cutting reminder of his disgrace:

". . . god keepe you better then he did ere!"
& all that euer stode her by,
did Marueill her answer was soe dry.

P, vss. 638-640

So Guinevere spoke in *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, in *Diu Crône*, in *De Ortu*. Through several centuries tradition kept, in Winliane, the very accents of her scorn, as indeed it kept a "souvenir" of the stories about her, and of the names by which for a time she was called—*Winlogee*, *Guendoloena*, *Winliane*.

But weary of her moods, we may, like the Scottish poet, "leaue chyding att home" (P, vs. 721).

CHAPTER VII

EGER AND GRIME

*"they were nothing sib of blood,
but they were sworne Bretheren good"* P, vss. 45-46

Two names in *Eger and Grime*, we have found, appear to belong to the Arthurian onomasticon—Winliane and Loosepine. This fact suggests the possibility that other names in the romance may have a similar origin. Except, however, for the name of one Arthurian knight, Kay, the results of a search are merely tentative. Parallels between the roles of Yder (or Ydier) and Eger and between those of Gawain and Grime make it possible to inquire whether the name *Eger* may be a substitution for *Yder* (*Ydier*) and the name *Grime* or *Grine*¹ for some form of *Gawain*. An examination of the activities and conduct of Yder and Gawain will indicate possible relationships to Eger and Grime.

Yder—Eger

Yder son of Nut is the hero of the thirteenth-century Old French romance *Yder*² and a knight in whom we have traces of ancient tales. Yder's relations to two ladies in the romance named for him suggest his similarity to Eger. The first of these ladies, Guinloie, a capricious queen, loved Yder and was beloved by him. In discussing the name *Winliane*, we noted that French *Guinloie*, Breton *Winlowen*, or *Winlogée*, and *Winliane* are closely related names.³ Foerster recognized that the French name *Guinloie* corresponds to *Winlogée*.⁴ And that

Winlogée on the Modena sculpture and Guinevere are parallel figures is now generally accepted.⁵ Thus the identification of Guinevere and Guinloie may be made—an identification supported by the relation of the two ladies to Yder. We saw that Winliane apparently inherited her moods as well as her name from Guinevere. Winliane's behavior toward Eger has also a parallel in that of Guinloie toward Yder. Though loving Yder, Guinloie required him to prove his worthiness of her love by valiant deeds.⁶ So Winliane returned Eger's love, but insisted that she would take no husband who could not win every battle he engaged in. Moreover, Guinloie kept herself informed secretly of Yder's movements. So Winliane, listening secretly, overheard Eger telling Grime the story of his defeat. Each lady married the man she loved when finally he had proved his valor.

Though Yder loved Guinloie, Guinevere herself appeared in the Old French romance, and there are traces of a love affair between her and Yder. Such an affair heightens the possibility that traditions of Yder have influenced Eger, since Guinevere was seemingly the prototype of Winliane.⁷ In a passage in which Arthur forced Guinevere to tell him whom she would marry if he himself were dead, she protested against answering, but finally admitted that she would choose Yder.⁸ Arthur's previously groundless jealousy was increased by her reply, and he sought Yder's death. That this scene preserves an ancient tradition about Yder has been several times pointed out, the assertion always supported by a quotation from the *Berne Folie Tristan*:

Onques Yder, qui ocist l'ors
N'ot tant ne poines ne dolours
Par Guenievre, la fame Artur,
Con je por vos, car je en mur.⁹

Vss. 232-235

Besides Guinevere's choice of Yder in this scene, Gelzer points out other traces of Guinevere's love for Yder, though Yder himself, true to his love for Guinevere's counterpart

Guinloie, did not return her love (pp. lvi-lvii). Certainly Guinevere took a lively interest in the young hero. She warned him against risking his newly won honor in an encounter with Gawain. After Yder had been wounded, she begged Gawain to induce Arthur to take her to the convent near by in order that they might learn of Yder's welfare. She persuaded Gawain to ask Yder to join the Round Table. Arthur's jealousy, existing even before there were any grounds for it in the romance, and Guinevere's indirection in making Gawain the intermediary between Arthur and herself suggest her love as clearly as her words when she answered Arthur's embarrassing question. Even so, the romance contains only a slight suggestion of a love that Tristan could compare with his love for Iseult (p. lvii). We can only say that a tenacious tradition has preserved the *amours* of Yder and Guinevere, as Gaston Paris says, "à l'état de souvenir atténué."¹⁰

The love of Eger and Winliane may be a slender thread from the same skein. And if traditions of Yder have influenced Eger's relation to Winliane, it is easy to suspect that the name *Eger* may have been substituted for the similar-sounding name *Yder* or *Ydier*. Of the early pronunciation of *Eger* we cannot be sure, but a palatal *g*, possible though not to be expected in Lowland Scotland in the fifteenth century, might have been more likely in some earlier English version of the romance.¹¹ OF *Ydier(s)*, a frequent alternative spelling of *Yder*,¹² would have given a somewhat similar pronunciation. *Eger* would then be an easy substitution for *Ydier*, especially for an English poet or minstrel in the late fourteenth century who was familiar with the map of Bohemia,¹³ and had seen on it the city of Eger on the Eger River in Egerland.¹⁴

Thus the correspondence between Eger's love of Winliane and Yder's love of Guinloie, whose prototype was Guinevere, and the "souvenir" of his love affair with Guinevere herself; the name *Eger* representing perhaps a substitution for *Yder*; and as we shall see in the next section, the friendship of Yder and Gawain paralleling that of Eger and Grime—all of these point to a tenuous tradition of Yder in the romance of *Eger and Grime*.

Gawain—Grime

Similarly, traditions of Gawain appear to have influenced Grime. The friendship of Yder and Gawain, very similar to that of Eger and Grime, is emphasized in *Yder* and offers support for a relationship between Grime and Gawain as well as for one between Eger and Yder. Yder and Gawain throughout the romance speak of each other in terms of extravagant praise, but twice friendship is more specifically indicated. When Gawain urged Yder to accept Arthur's invitation to become a member of the Round Table, he asked that he and Yder might pledge themselves to become *compagnons* or brothers-in-arms:

Ainz vos en pri en cel maniere
Que nos seiom par foi plevie
De tenir leale compaignie.

Vss. 3254 ff.

Similarly, Grime speaks to Eger:

"Egar," he said, "thou and I are brethren sworne;
I loved neuer better brother borne."

P, vss. 489-490

And later, when Yder sent Gawain on an important mission, he spoke of Gawain as his "sovereign friend":

"Sire," dit Yder a Gagain,
"Com a mon ami souverain
Que jo tienc plus a mon feeil,
Vos voil discover mon conseil."

Vss. 6644-47

And Gawain replied, "Drois est que jo vostre honor gart" (vs. 6678), much as Grime insisted that his plan to guard Eger's honor was just.

In *La Vengeance Raguidel*¹⁵ friendship between Yder and Gawain is not emphasized, but is at least suggested by the fact

that here as in *Eger* the two knights work together in the central episode of the romance—the killing of a mighty champion.

Summaries will show the similarities in the champions and in the circumstances under which they were killed.

Guengasouain, a knight who had been put under enchantment by a fairy, guarded "le trespas"¹⁶ of a land having forest, river, a castle on a height. The *amie* of Raguidel—a knight whom Guengasouain had slain—gave Gawain instructions about killing Guengasouain: he could be slain only by the truncheon he himself had left in Raguidel's dead body. Only the knight who could draw out the truncheon could kill Guengasouain, and this knight could do so only with the aid of the knight who could draw the rings off the five fingers of Raguidel's hand. Yder drew off the rings, and Gawain pulled the broken lance from Raguidel's body. Gawain met Guengasouain in a combat at a ford. Guengasouain recognized the truncheon in Gawain's hand, became alarmed, and retreated across the ford, taunting Gawain that he was not defeated. Gawain crossed the ford in pursuit of Guengasouain. Yder arrived on the scene and killed the bear that accompanied and protected Guengasouain. In a second combat Gawain killed Guengasouain, cut off his head, and presented it to Raguidel's *amie*. Guengasouain's beautiful daughter was presented to Gawain to be his bride, but he generously gave her to Yder, who loved her.

The similar incident in *Eger* is as follows:

Graysteel, a knight having supernatural traits, guarded the approach to a "forbidden country," where were forests, rivers, castles with high towers. Eger met Graysteel in combat across a ford in this country; Eger was humiliated, and his horse was killed. Grime

undertook a combat with Graysteel to vindicate his friend's honor. Loosepine, whose husband of a day Graysteel had killed, instructed Grime in the conduct of the battle. With a special sword, Grime killed Graysteel, cut off his right hand, which had rings on every finger, and presented it to Loosepine. Graysteel's daughter was given in marriage to Palyas, who had aided Eger and Grime in their plan.

The common features are evident: In both romances an invincible champion with supernatural traits guarded the approach to his country. He had killed the lover of a lady who instructed the hero (Gauvains; Grime) in the way in which the champion could be killed. A special weapon was important. A first combat at a ford was unsuccessful against the champion, but a second encounter succeeded. Gawain (Grime) killed the champion, cut off his head (hand), and presented it to the lady who had instructed him. Yder (Eger) had a part in the contest. The champion's beautiful daughter was given in marriage to a knight who had aided Gawain (Grime). The rings on all fingers of a dead man's hand in both romances were a striking feature.

Eger apparently did not borrow from *Raguidel*. In fact, *Eger* sometimes represents an earlier form of the tradition than the thirteenth-century romance. For example, *Raguidel's amie* was entirely human; Loosepine, who takes a corresponding part, is *fée*. *Eger* here surely preserves the earlier form.

In *Diu Crône* an episode which we have already found to be related to *Eger*¹⁷ corroborates a relationship between Gawain and Grime. Gasozein appears to be the same powerful knight as Guengasouain in *Raguidel*, and like Guengasouain he is the adversary of Gawain. Gelzer noted the similarity of the two knights, and Friedwagner pointed out the resemblance in the names and notes that "Guengasouain . . . hat augenscheinlich Berührungspunkte mit Gasozein."¹⁸ Gasozein defended the Ford of the Black Thorn as Guengasouain defended the *trespas* to his country. Like Guengasouain he had invincible arms furnished him by a fairy. After the first inconclusive

encounter at the ford with Arthur and three of his knights, he engaged in a later terrible battle with Gawain.

Gasozein is like Graysteel in *Eger* in a number of ways. Like Graysteel Gasozein fought at a ford. Both he and Graysteel came to combat in splendid red and gold arms, each with a lion rampant on his shield. Gasozein was successful in his first encounter at the ford, but unsuccessful against Gawain. Similarly, Graysteel was successful against Eger, but not against Grime.

But *Eger* has other relationships to this episode in *Diu Crône* besides the similarity of the champions in the ford combats, and these also further the possibility that traditions of Gawain are behind Grime. Gawain undertook battle with Gasozein to win back Ginover for Arthur as Grime undertook battle with Graysteel to restore Winliane to Eger. And when we remember that Ginover (Guinevere) is the prototype of Winliane, we may ask, Who but Gawain, or a knight inheriting traditions that belong to him, should encounter at a ford a mighty champion in order to restore Winliane to the man who rightfully claims her affections?

That *Eger* did not borrow the episode from *Diu Crône* seems clear. Not only would it be unlikely that the author of *Eger* would know the German romance or its probable French original, but the conclusion in *Eger* represents the original tradition, in which the ford champion is slain in the second ford combat. In *Diu Crône* the author did not allow Gawain to kill Gasozein. Instead, Gasozein lived to explain that his claim to possession of Arthur's queen had been unfounded. Arthur forgave him, and he remained, alive and happy, at court. Heinrich or the author of his probable French source obviously fabricated an ending which would leave the reader with an impression of the queen's innocence pleasing to the people of his own day, though false to the tradition.¹⁹

Since there are detailed resemblances in conduct between Gawain and Grime and a similarity in their relationship to a supernatural champion, we may notice a very rough similarity in the names and suspect that a substitution may have taken place. The substitution of a name familiar in the locality in

which a story is told for an unfamiliar or less familiar one is a common phenomenon.²⁰ As we should expect in stories subjected to the vicissitudes of oral transmission, a similar substitution takes place frequently in personal names in Arthurian romance.²¹ The form *Grime* or *Grine* is found in Version P, *Grahame* in HL. *Grine*, like Gawain ending in *n*, is found in the Percy manuscript, where the title is plainly written as *Eger and Grine* (British Museum MS. Additional 27, 879, folio 124). Since the Percy manuscript represents probably the earliest extant form of the romance,²² this spelling is significant.

Grahame, the form occurring in HL instead of *Grime* or *Grine*, is presumably an instance of corruption in the Laing text, as David Laing himself long ago pointed out.²³ Actually, *Grime* and *Grahame* were different forms of a familiar Scottish name. *Grahame* occurs in an early twelfth century charter, and in the following centuries many forms are recorded—*Graeme*, *Grime*, *Grim* among others.²⁴ Though the etymology may be, as Coutts says, "the despair of the genealogist,"²⁵ an old ballad has something to say about it:

I'm damned if I will sail with you, Sir Graham,
Though I may seem uncivil,
But Graham is Graeme, and Graham is Grim,
And Grim, sir, is the Devil.²⁶

The good Scottish name *Grime* may possibly have been substituted for *Gawain* in the fifteenth century in Scotland.

The friendship of Yder and Gawain, paralleling that of Eger and Grime, similarities between the ford combats of Gawain with a mighty adversary and that in which Grime killed Graysteel, and the rough similarity of the names *Gawain* and *Grime* or *Grine*, suggesting substitution of a more familiar name for a less familiar one—all of these suggest that Grime may have fallen heir to traditions that belong to the best of Arthur's knights.

CHAPTER VIII

GREYSTEEL

*"... euerye houre from Midnight till noone,
eche hower he increaseth the strenght of a man;
& euery houer from Noone till Midnight,
euery hower he bateth the strenght of a Knight."*

P, vss. 891-894

A central figure in *Eger and Grime* is Graysteel, the "warrior wight" who humiliated Eger in a combat beyond a ford and was defeated in turn by Grime, so that the romance concludes fittingly in a victory for a brave and generous hero. The *Pwyll* tradition of a ford combat, we have seen, accounts for a good deal in Graysteel's behavior and his relation to other characters in the poem: as Hafgan, king of Annwn, defeated Arawn in a ford combat and was later killed by Pwyll, who substituted for his friend in Arawn's form, so Graysteel, lord of a 'forbidden country,' defeated Eger in a ford combat and was slain by Grime, who met him in the guise of Eger in a mighty combat beyond a ford.

The tradition of a Welsh ford combat, however, leaves much about Graysteel still unexplained. The previous relation of Graysteel to the heroine Loosepine, her enmity toward him, her betrayal of the secret of his strength to Grime, the use of a special sword to kill him—there is nothing in *Pwyll* to explain these features. A group of Irish stories dealing with Curoi mac Dairi, however, provides an explanation for all of them, and since it is a group that has influenced Arthurian

romance, there is reason to suspect an influence upon *Eger*. Moreover, there are a number of minor motifs in connection with the battle of Graysteel and Grime that are apparently traditional and to be explained as Celtic features though not derived from the Curoi group. These are the previous history of the potent sword needed to kill Graysteel, the strange hand of Graysteel, with its extra fingers and its gold rings on every finger, the fighting steeds of Grime and Graysteel, the advice of Loosepine to Grime to make his first attack boldly against the champion, and Graysteel's custom of cutting off the little finger of an enemy. For all of these some Celtic or folklore antecedents are to be found.

The stories of Curoi, especially *The Tragic Death of Cu Roi Mac Dairi*, provide by all means the most important Irish influence upon *Eger*. They are for us the most significant Irish portion of the "huge mass" of Celtic material that Kittredge said produced so great a change in the literature of the Western world "with an effect still traceable . . . in such obvious phenomena as the externals of plot and dramatis personae."¹ The sagas centering about Curoi mac Dairi belong to the oldest portion of the Ulster cycle, some of them no later than the eighth century,² though the version most important for us—that in the Yellow Book of Lecan—could not, according to Best, have been composed earlier than the tenth century in the form in which we have it.³ That the Curoi sagas were popular in Ireland is evident from the number and the variety of the stories that have come down to us.⁴ Moreover, they were known in Wales in the Middle Ages. An extant Welsh poem, *The Death Song of Corroi M. Dayry*, that has been assigned to the first part of the twelfth century, is referred to by Sir Ifor Williams as a "striking example of 'lease-lend.'"⁵ It has long been recognized that this saga group has influenced Arthurian romance. Kittredge established the indebtedness of *Gawain and the Green Knight* to *Bricriu's Feast*, and Gertrude Schoepperle, Professor Hulbert, Alice Buchanan, Tom Peete Cross, and Professor Loomis have considered further influence of the Curoi stories upon *Gawain*

and the Green Knight and upon widely divergent Arthurian romances.⁹

Specifically, the tradition of Curoi may be shown to account for Loosepine's enmity toward Graysteel, brought about by his killing her former husband Attelstone, and resulting in her revealing of the secret of Graysteel's strength to Grime; the solar traits of Graysteel; and the use of a special sword to kill Graysteel.

Before considering the Curoi material, we may review the story of Graysteel, his relation to Loosepine, and his defeat by Grime.

Graysteel, lord of a "forbidden country," encountered and humiliated Eger. Graysteel was gloriously armed, carried a red shield and red spear, and rode a huge red steed. When Grime went to avenge Eger's humiliation, Loosepine entertained him and explained her enmity toward Graysteel, who had killed Attelstone, her husband of one day. No woman alive knew so well as she the "condicions" of Graysteel's vulnerability. Every hour from midnight to noon his strength increased, and every hour from noon to midnight it decreased accordingly. She revealed this secret to Grime and gave him instructions concerning his conduct in the approaching battle: he must make his first attack boldly and must think of his lady as the battle progressed.

A lady who had loved Eger's uncle had given to Grime a special sword with magic properties for the encounter with Graysteel. Grime met Graysteel, a knight so powerful that he had killed one hundred knights with his two hands. In the course of the battle he remembered the lady's instructions and "shooke out his sword Egeking." He finally killed Graysteel and cut off his hand. When he presented the hand to Loosepine, she saw that it was red in color, with extra fingers, and a gold ring on every

finger. Because of their mutual love Grime and Loosepine were married.

A summary of the pertinent material in *The Tragic Death of Curoi Mac Dairi* will suggest resemblances to *Eger*. The version used is R. I. Best's translation from the Yellow Book of Lecan.⁷

Curoi mac Dairi went with the men of Ulster to the siege of the men of Falga. They called him "the man in the gray mantle." In the division of the spoils Curoi was not given his share. He thrust under his arm the woman Blathnat, daughter of Iuchna, king of the men of Falga, and went away with her. When Cuchulainn got speech with him, he turned upon Cuchulainn, thrust him into the earth to his armpits, cropped his hair with his sword, rubbed cow dung in his head, and then went home.

After a year Cuchulainn went to Curoi's stronghold and held converse with Blathnat, for he had loved her before she was brought over sea. He made a tryst with her on the night before Samuin. The Ulstermen set forth with Cuchulainn. Blathnat advised Curoi that he should build a splendid enclosure for his stronghold of every pillarstone standing or lying in Ireland. When the Clan Dedad then set out for the building of the stronghold and Curoi was alone in the fortress, she poured the milk of Iuchna's cows down the river in the direction of the Ulstermen, according to the signal she had arranged with Cuchulainn, so that the river should be white when she was bathing Curoi.

She bathed Curoi and bound his hair to the bedposts, took his sword out of the scabbard, and threw open the stronghold. When the Ulstermen broke into the house and fell upon him, Curoi rose up and killed one hundred of them with kicks and blows of his fists. But Cuchulainn killed him with Curoi's own sword.

In spite of the difference in spirit and plot between this story and *Eger*, resemblances between them are evident. Some of the similarities may be due to mere coincidence: for example, the humiliation of the hero in both stories and the slaying of one hundred warriors. But other parallels seem due to the influence of the Curoi story. Two of these are evident from the summaries given: the woman's betrayal of the secret of a man's strength, the need of a special sword to kill the man. The necessity for a special sword to kill the man will however require examination. So also will two other parallels between Curoi and Graysteel that are not made clear in the version of the Curoi story in the Yellow Book of Lecan: the solar traits of both heroes and the relation between the gray mantle of Curoi and Graysteel's name.

Solar Traits

The correspondences between the Blathnat abduction story and *Eger* appear too close to be accidental, but the relationships need further study. It will be remembered that Graysteel is described as a knight gloriously armed, with a red shield and red spear and a red steed "of a furley kinde." According to HL—

His gear was red as any blood,
His horse of that same hew he stood.

HL, vss. 1501-02

When Grime presents Graysteel's hand to Loosepine, the hand is twice described as red ("red rowed").⁸ This phrase might to be sure be descriptive of the blood stains of a hand cut off by a sword, but in view of the fact that Graysteel is a "red warrior," it is at least possible that the color of the hand itself was red. Moreover, Graysteel has the waxing and waning strength that is most often, though not invariably, attributed to Gawain or Gawain's opponents. In fact, this was the important secret that Loosepine communicated to Grime to aid him in defeating Graysteel:

there is noe woman aliue that knoweth so weele
as I doe of the Condictions of Sir Gray Steele,
for euerye houre from Midnight till noone,
eche hower he increaseth the strenght of a man;
& euery houer from Noone till Midnight,
euery hower he bateth the strenght of a Knight.

P, vss. 889-894

Graysteel's possession of waxing and waning strength has been commented upon by a number of scholars.⁹ Professor Caldwell, who has discussed the matter most fully, concludes that though it is "extremely probable" that the waxing and waning strength was "a Celtic solar trait," it was a seemingly "rather free element . . . applicable to almost any warrior in order to add to his magnificence. . . . That its possession . . . indicates, in default of corroborative evidence, that he is a disguised sun-god is an entirely unwarranted inference. . . . A sun-god he [Graysteel] certainly is not."¹⁰ To make any claim that Graysteel is a sun god would indeed be naïve. To say that his possession of the "Celtic solar trait" is significant, however, and may be explained as due to a Celtic tradition is quite a different matter. To show that this trait is present in connection with other characteristics of the champion and related plot elements may constitute "corroborative evidence" that Graysteel does possess solar traits that derive from early Celtic story.

The conjecture that the red arms and red horse of Graysteel are solar indications Professor Caldwell dismisses summarily. Though red is a "favorite fairy color," the red horse and red arms are probably a late addition to the romance. For, he says, the name Graysteel, which "furnishes the title of the romance as we first hear of it in 1497" and so must be genuine, "is hardly significant of a sun-red warrior. Graysteel must certainly be so named because he wore a suit of gray armor."¹¹ True, red arms and a red horse would not in themselves be sufficient indication of solar traits. It is only in conjunction with other traits and incidents that they can be so interpreted. And the name Graysteel or even a suit of gray armor does not

discredit the attribution of solar characteristics to the warrior solar traits are a genuine Celtic feature.

The very words 'solar traits' suggest the caution that is necessary in any discussion of mythological backgrounds of the Ulster Cycle, to say nothing of Arthurian romance. The excesses of some nineteenth century mythologizers have left just and perhaps ineradicable suspicions of anything that approaches mythology, especially solar mythology.¹² Yet even MacCulloch, skeptical though he was of solar traits, said many years ago that the Ulster tales deal with "persons who never existed . . . a world of romance and myth, and embody the ideals of Celtic paganism."¹³ And Thomas F. O'Rahilly was more emphatic: "Actually the Ulidian tales are wholly mythical in origin, and they have not the faintest connexion with anything that could be called history, apart from the fact that traditions of warfare between the Ulaid and the Connacta have been adventitiously introduced into a few of them . . . [Besides Cuchulainn] the other leading characters, such as CúRoí . . . are likewise euhemerized divinities."¹⁴

Of the existence of primitive sun worship the many pages of diagrams and plates of solar deities with their solar symbols—the wheel, the thunderbolt, the axe, among others—in a work like Cook's *Zeus*, Déchelette's *Manuel D'Archéologie Préhistorique Celtique et Gallo-Romaine*, or Lambrechts' less imposing but most interesting *Contributions à l'Étude des Divinités Celtiques*¹⁵ offer incontrovertible evidence. One cannot doubt the prevalence of "cette religion héliolatricque dont les peuples primitifs de l'Europe furent les fervents adeptes et dont on retrouve les traces sur les monuments à partir de l'âge du bronze . . . et aux temps historiques."¹⁶

That this pagan sun worship of prehistoric centuries was still a reality in the early centuries of the Christian era in Ireland the words attributed to St. Patrick himself bear witness: "Nam sol iste quem uidemus, Deo iubente, propter nos cotidie oritur, sed numquam regnabit neque permanebit splendor eius; sed . . . omnes qui adorant eum in poenam miseri male deuenient."¹⁷ And there is abundant further evidence of the survival of the pagan worship into Christian centuries in Ireland.¹⁸

Curoi, Professor Loomis has shown, gives evidence of solar traits.¹⁹ In *Bricriu's Feast*, to be dated not later than the ninth century, it is said that he lived in a revolving fortress "swift as a mill-stone,"²⁰ that by night he made a journey to the East and returned in the morning, that he brought light to the household and yet the house would not be burned. The revolving home of Curoi suggests the dome of the heavens turning by night;²¹ the nightly journey to the East and the return in the morning characterize an entire group of Breton folk tales in which the Sun in human form departs each day for distant regions, leaving his mortal bride alone.²² Besides the solar traits, Curoi has characteristics of a divinity of thunder and lightning. In a scene in *Bricriu's Feast* he wears a dark gray mantle, and in the *Aided Curoi* we remember that the men of Ulster did not recognize Curoi, but they called him "the man in the gray mantle."²³ He appears in a dark cloud to test the three heroes in *Bricriu's Feast*, and he enters the hall as a huge churl carrying in his hand a great axe. When he wields this axe the creaking of the hide about him and the crashing of the axe were like the sound of "a wood tempest-tossed in a night of storm."²⁴

Now archaeologists well recognize that in early religions solar divinities were also storm divinities, and that the axe was the appropriate symbol of the storm deity. Déchelette says, "Ce symbole [the double axe, or often in the West the simple axe] était certainement en relation avec l'éclair ou avec la foudre. . . le dieu de la foudre soit étroitement apparenté aux divinités du cycle solaire, et l'on s'explique aisément l'association assez fréquente des symboles solaires . . . et de hache."²⁵

Recognizing the survival of pagan sun-worship in folk customs and folktales up to the twentieth century;²⁶ knowing that this pagan belief was strong enough in early Christian Ireland to arouse St. Patrick's vehement opposition; remembering the respect for tradition of storytellers everywhere and especially the conservative training and methods of the Irish *filid*,²⁷ we need not be surprised that a tale of the eighth or ninth century in Ireland preserves traces of solar mythology. Knowing on the other hand that the natural antagonism of the Church would exert a continuing influence toward the sup-

pression of whatever was obviously pagan, we may be surprised that these traces are as clear as they are. Moreover, if solar traits turn up in Arthurian romance in a plot influenced by a Celtic tradition that would account for them, there seems no good reason for not accepting them at face value.

Specifically to be considered are the red arms and red horse of Graysteel, his waxing and waning strength, and his name. Red knights to be sure are not necessarily solar, but red is a solar color.²⁸ The line in a Welsh poem in the Book of Taliessin, "No one knows whence the bosom of the sun is made ruddy," represents a common primitive conception of the sun, crimson in the morning and the evening, mysteriously so to people without a scientific explanation.²⁹ If red arms and a red horse occur in conjunction with other solar features, the presumption may be that they indicate solar influence. Graysteel's red arms and the peculiarity of his strength should be considered together. For strength that waxes and wanes with the rising and setting of the sun is generally accepted as solar. The waxing and waning strength of Gawain has been too often discussed to need more than brief mention here. Of it Sir Edmund Chambers says, "It appears from the romances that Gawain, whose strength waxed to midday and then waned, was once the sun."³⁰ Similarly, Gaston Paris had written: "Ce trait remarquable semble bien permettre de reconnaître dans le héros celtique un de ces dieux humanisés qu'il n'est pas rare de rencontrer dans l'épopée."³¹ Bruce, more cautious, believed, "It is very doubtful whether this feature . . . justifies the assumption that Gawain was once a solar divinity but the feature itself may very well have been taken from such a divinity."³² Other knights besides Gawain sometimes possess this feature.³³ If we find that in a group of romances red arms and waxing and waning strength occur together in a plot that apparently derives from traditions of Curoi, we shall be pretty safe in assuming that the combination of these features in Graysteel is a solar indication, influenced, as is the plot of *Eger*, by Curoi traditions.

A thirteenth century romance, *L'Atre Périlleux*,³⁴ combines the solar traits in a plot that like *Eger* is influenced by the abduction of Blathnat.

Escanor de la Montaigne, a large and splendid knight, appeared at Arthur's court and abducted a damsel whom he had long loved. Keu set out to follow him, but was unhorsed and humiliated by Escanor. Gavain pursued Escanor to rescue the maiden. On the way he had a strange meeting with another maiden in a cemetery and killed a devil who had ravished her. She accompanied Gavain. They saw at a distance the shield of Escanor, crimson and shining against the sun. The damsel then confided to Gavain the secret of Escanor's strength: until *none* he had the strength of three knights, but after *none* he gradually became weaker as the sun set. She counseled Gavain not to engage in battle with him until after the hour of *none*. Gavain agreed to take her advice. He then encountered Escanor, and in the course of the battle he picked up the spear that Escanor had dropped and with it killed Escanor's horse. Finally he killed Escanor and rode away to Cardueil with the maiden Escanor had abducted and the damsel of the cemetery.

Like the Curoi story, this romance has the abduction of a maiden, the solar traits of the abductor, the revealing of the secret of his strength by a woman, his consequent death at the hands of the man to whom the secret was entrusted, and the humiliation of the first would-be rescuer, followed by the killing of the abductor by the second. A trace of the killing of Curoi by his own sword seems to be preserved in Gawain's killing of Escanor's horse with Escanor's own weapon.

The parallels between *Eger* and *L'Atre Périlleux* are also striking: in both, the splendid knight with red arms and waxing and waning strength, the revealing of the secret of the warrior's vulnerability by a woman to aid the hero in killing the champion, the use of a special weapon in the combat with him, the red knight's humiliation of the first opponent and his death at the hands of the second. Graysteel, to be sure, has not abducted the lady, though he has harassed her and killed her husband. *L'Atre Périlleux*, on the other hand, keeps much clearer the

pattern of the Blathnat abduction, and by its likeness to both *Eger* and the Curoi story, it reinforces the similarities between our romance and the Irish tale.

In Malory's Book of Gareth the story of Bewmaynes' (Gareth's) battle with the Red Knight of the Red Laundes to rescue Dame Lyones is strikingly similar to the Graysteel episode and at the same time reveals its relationship to the abduction of Blathnat.

Dame Lyones was besieged by the Red Knight of the Red Laundes, named Sir Ironsyde, who had killed many of her would-be rescuers. Bewmaynes set out from Arthur's court with Lynet, Dame Lyones's sister, to rescue the besieged lady. Lynet revealed to him the secret of Ironsyde's strength: it increased until high noon, when it equalled the strength of seven men. She urged Bewmaynes not to meet him until after noon. Bewmaynes boldly refused to delay and immediately went to encounter Ironsyde, whose arms were "blood-red—his armour, spere and shyld"—and who rode a red steed. In the confusion of the battle "aythir toke others swerde in the stede of his owne." Bewmaynes defeated the Red Knight of the Red Laundes and so freed the Lady Lyones from the knight's tyranny, and won her love.⁸⁵

The relationships of this incident to the Curoi cycle and to the derivative episodes in *L'Atre Périlleux* and in *Eger* are most interesting. Like Curoi Sir Ironside has solar traits, the secret of his strength is revealed by a woman to insure his defeat, and for a time at least his own weapon is used against him. There is no actual abduction as there is in *L'Atre Périlleux*, though the influence of the Irish tale seems assured by its similarities to the Blathnat episode itself and by its relation to the parallel incidents in *L'Atre Périlleux* and in *Eger*.

The resemblances of Malory's Red Knight to Graysteel are tantalizing. In the first place, there is the curious parallel of

names³⁶ that at first glance seem inappropriate to their bearers. As Professor Caldwell said of Graysteel's name, so the name Ironside seems "hardly significant of a sun-red warrior."³⁷ Both knights, of course, have similar solar traits—the red arms and red steeds in conjunction with strength that increases with the increasing force of the sun at midday. Both knights fit a pattern of behavior and destiny set for them by the Irish Curoi, who pretty clearly is a solar figure. Besides his solar traits, it will be remembered, Curoi bore the marks of a storm divinity: his crashing axe, the gray mantle that gave him the name by which he was called in one version of the story and which is elsewhere mentioned. That both the striking Red Knight of the Red Laundes and Graysteel, the splendor of whose arms is brilliantly described, should be named for the sober gray of their armor would be less surprising if the 'gray mantle' significant of Curoi accounted for both names, as the solar traits of the same hero may have accounted for the red of their arms and their steeds and more surely accounted for the peculiarity of their increasing and diminishing strength. In view of the plot influence of the Curoi sagas, the possibility is not remote. Besides having similar names, Ironside and Graysteel each harassed a lady and killed her rescuers (her husband and brother in *Eger*); each was defeated because of a lady's betrayal of the secret of his waxing and waning strength; as a result of his defeat the opponent of each won the love of the rescued lady.

To sum up the somewhat complicated relationships of the episodes in *L'Atre Périlleux*, Malory, and *Eger*, we see that all the romances have warriors with nearly identical solar traits that appear to derive from the solar traits of Curoi.³⁸ The names of Malory's warrior Ironside and of Graysteel may reflect the 'grey mantle' of Curoi's storm aspect. In all three romances a lady reveals the secret of the warrior's waxing and waning strength to a knight destined to defeat the solar champion because he possesses the secret. This element in all three romances is crucial and points to derivation from Blathnat's betrayal of the secret of Curoi's strength to Cuchulainn. In all three romances there is apparently a trace of the use of Curoi's own sword as the only weapon by which his death could be

brought about. And in all three episodes there is the humiliation of a would-be rescuer or rescuers before the defeat of the champion, indicating influence of Curoi's humiliation of Cuchulainn prior to Cuchulainn's killing of Curoi. In only one of the romances is the abduction of a lady a clear plot element to parallel the abduction of Blathnat; but the prominence of the abduction by the solar champion in *L'Atre Périlleux* is good warrant for relating Ironside's and Graysteel's high-handed behavior toward a lady to this fundamental element of the Irish story.

In terms of our romance, Graysteel's red arms and horse, his waxing and waning strength, perhaps his name, his previous relationship to Loosepine, Loosepine's betrayal to Grime of the secret of Graysteel's strength, Graysteel's death at Grime's hands, perhaps the use of a special sword as the instrument of his death—all these are related to the Curoi-Cuchulainn-Blathnat abduction. Thus, elements that in themselves immediately suggested derivation from the Irish tale reveal their relationship to it more clearly in the light of their correspondences to *L'Atre Périlleux* and Malory's *Book of Gareth*, while the solar traits and the name Graysteel appear to indicate the same relationship. A diagram may clarify the correspondence.*

The Sword

The slaying of Curoi by Cuchulainn with Curoi's own sword we have seen is basic to the Curoi saga. Thomas F. O'Rahilly considered various forms that the underlying story assumed in Ireland. He found that in the primitive form of the myth the Hero slays the god of the Otherworld with the latter's own weapon, which was originally the thunderbolt. The slaying of Balar by Lug, for example, would represent this basic myth.³⁹ Curoi, he said, is ultimately the lord of the Otherworld, and he spoke of Cuchulainn's need for Curoi's own sword in order to kill Curoi.⁴⁰ This interpretation of O'Rahilly's emphasizes the importance of the slaying of a god by his own weapon and would make it appear almost inevitable that Arthurian ro-

* See p. 110.

A MEDIEVAL ROMANCE OF FRIENDSHIP:

mances influenced by Curoi traditions should retain traces of this story element, even when rationalization and fading have dimmed the outlines and obliterated important connections.

Curoi Sagas	<i>L'Atre Périlleux</i>	Malory	<i>Eger</i>
Solar traits	Red shield Waxing and waning strength	Red arms and horse Waxing and waning strength	Red arms and horse Waxing and waning strength
"Gray mantle"		"Ironside"	"Graysteel"
Abduction of Blathnat	Abduction of damsel	Besieging of a lady	Killing of a lady's husband, etc.
Curoi's humiliation of Cuchulainn upon his first attempt at rescue of Blathnat	Red Knight's humiliation of first rescuer	Red knight's hanging of first rescuers	Red knight's humiliation of Eger
Secret of Curoi's strength revealed by woman—	Secret of Escanor's strength revealed by woman—	Secret of Ironside's strength revealed by woman—	Secret of Graysteel's strength revealed by woman—
To aid in killing Curoi	To aid in killing Escanor	To aid in defeating Ironside	To aid in killing Graysteel
Curoi's own sword used to kill Curoi	Escanor's own spear used to kill Escanor's horse	Interchange of weapons in battle	Special sword used to kill Graysteel
Curoi killed by Cuchulainn	Red Knight killed by Gawain	Red knight defeated by Beaumains	Red knight killed by Grime
Love of victor and rescued lady		Love of victor and rescued lady	Love of victor and rescued lady

In *Eger* the sword episode of the Irish tale is, to be sure, not clearly preserved, but there is enough similarity to make a relationship probable. Comparison with a group of romances in which a similar incident is found will make it pretty clear that the special sword a lady gives to Grime to kill Graysteel is derived from the sword of Curoi. *L'Atre Périlleux* and Malory's *Book of Gareth*, we have seen, appear to retain traces of the

use of Curoi's own weapon against him, but in several romances the motif is much clearer than in these.

Before looking at these, we may review the situation in *Eger*. A lady who had in her keeping Egeking, the magic sword of Eger's uncle, gave it to Grime for the combat ostensibly of Eger, actually of Grime, with Graysteel. The previous history of that sword, though interesting, does not reflect the Curoi tradition. During the combat with Graysteel Grime remembered Loosepine's instructions to him concerning his conduct of the battle. He then "shooke out his sword Egeking" and fought valiantly. Once he dropped the sword but quickly recovered it and struck Graysteel a fatal blow with an "arkeward ('backward') stroke."⁴¹ The fact that Loosepine had confided to Grime the special "condicions" of Graysteel's vulnerability in a way that emphasized the secrecy of her knowledge is of course important here, though the connection of her disclosure with the sword episode is not made explicit in *Eger*.

One of the derivatives of the Curoi episode that should be compared with *Eger* is found in the *Vulgate Lancelot*.⁴²

Carado of the Dolorous Tower carried off a damsel from her lover and took her to his castle. Lancelot went to the castle and fought with Carado. In the battle Lancelot broke his sword. The damsel, to whom Carado had entrusted his sword—the only one by which he could be killed—placed the sword stealthily within Lancelot's reach. When Lancelot took it up, Carado recognized it as his own and knew the damsel's betrayal. He cried out that he was to die by that which he loved best in the world. Lancelot cut off his head with the sword.

There are a number of parallels between this incident and Blathnat's betrayal of Curoi. And similar correspondences occur in an incident in *De Ortu Walwanii*.⁴³

Milocrates, king of an island of dwarfs, had abducted the emperor's niece and made her his queen.

Gawain (Walwanius) came to the palace and learning that the Queen was in love with him, arranged a meeting. Together he and the Queen plotted to admit the enemy to the city. She gave Gawain Milocrates' arms and sword, by which it was destined that whoever first wore them should deprive Milocrates of his rank. Next day on the battlefield Milocrates saw the sword in Gawain's possession and realized that he was doomed. Gawain slew Milocrates with the latter's own sword.

As in *The Tragic Death of Curoi*, in both of these romances a woman is abducted and taken to the fortress or castle of her abductor. She betrays her abductor and gives to another the abductor's own sword with which alone he may be killed. In the Lancelot episode as in the Curoi one, the betrayed man cries against the woman's treachery. In *De Ortu Walwanii* as in the abduction of Blathnat, the faithless woman plots with her lover to open the gates to the enemy.⁴⁴

In an episode in Malory (found also in the *Suite du Merlin*) there is no abduction, but the pattern of the story of Curoi is otherwise clearly preserved.⁴⁵

Morgain, wishing to kill Arthur, contrived a battle in which her lover Accolon should fight with Arthur. She sent Accolon Arthur's sword Excalibur, which Arthur had entrusted to her. Arthur and Accolon fought. In the battle Arthur broke his sword and was in desperate plight, when the Dame du Lac came to his rescue. By enchantment she brought it about that Excalibur fell to the ground. Arthur recovered it, recognized it as his own weapon, and quickly defeated Accolon. Later he learned of Morgain's plot.

In the fourteenth-century Alliterative *Morte Arthure* Arthur is similarly betrayed.⁴⁶ In this poem Guinevere (Waynor) gave Arthur's sword Clarent to Modred. With it Modred gave Arthur the wound that caused his death. Seeing Clarent un-

sheathed against him, Arthur recognized Guinevere's treachery, for she alone had the keeping of the noble sword.

In these versions Arthur, like Curoi, is betrayed by a woman who gives his own invincible weapon to his enemy to bring about his death, and again like Curoi, he learns to his sorrow of her betrayal.

One other sword incident seemingly reflecting the Curoi tradition is relevant—that in Radulfus Tortarius' version of *Amicus et Amelius*.⁴⁷ In this earliest version (about 1090) of a romance that it will be remembered is closely related to *Eger and Grime*, Amicus broke his sword while fighting Adradus. A damsel who had declared her love for Amelius took her father's sword from its nail and sent it to Amicus, whom she supposed to be her lover Amelius. With its aid Amicus killed his enemy. Radulfus explains that this sword was the sword of Roland, given him by his uncle Charlemagne—a point noteworthy for us only as emphasizing the unusual potency of the weapon. That in two manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman version of *Amis* this lady was called Florie (or Flurie) suggests a connection with Blathnat, whose name means 'Little Flower.'⁴⁸ The episode has the significant motif of the Curoi tradition; a lady gives a special sword to a man she mistakes for her lover. With it he kills his enemy. If we consider the name Florie a further connection with *The Tragic Death of Curoi* and assume a relationship,⁴⁹ it is clear that fading has taken place and important elements of the original story are lost. For example, here as in *Eger* the reason why the special sword was needed is no longer clear—that by it alone the death of the enemy could be compassed. Entirely lost in *Amis*, the conception is still recognizable in *Eger* in Pallyas's warning to Grime that an excellent sword will be needed to kill Graysteel.⁵⁰ Moreover, as in *Eger*, the tradition of the Welsh ford combat has been contaminated by the Blathnat abduction. The real reason for the battle in both romances is a knight's vindication of his friend's honor by substitution for him in combat. But because of contamination by the Irish plot a lady is to be rescued by the friend's successful intervention (from an enemy in *Eger*; from a charge against her honor in *Amis*).

<i>TRAGIC DEATH OF CUROI</i>	<i>VULGATE LANCELOT</i>	<i>DE ORTU WALWANI</i>	<i>MALORY</i>	<i>ALLITERATIVE MORTE ARTHUR</i>	<i>AMICUS ET AMELIUS</i>	<i>EGER AND CRIME</i>
Abduction	Abduction	Aduction				
Blathnat— 'Little Flower'	'Floree' (?)				'Florice' (?)	
Woman plots with lover to kill Curoi		Woman plots with lover to kill Milocrates	Woman plots for her lover to kill Arthur	Woman plots with her lover to kill Arthur (implied in Arthur's words)		Woman instructs Grime how to kill Crysteel
Woman admitted enemy to fortress		Woman admitted enemy to city				
Woman gives lover abductor's own sword with which alone he could be killed	Woman gives Lan- celot abductor's own sword with which alone he could be killed	Woman gives lover abductor's own sword with which alone he could be killed	Woman gives lover Arthur's own sword	Woman gives lover Arthur's own sword	Woman gives man she mistakes for her lover a special sword	Woman gives Grime a special sword needed to kill Crysteel
Curoi cries out against the woman's treachery	Lancelot cries out against the woman's treachery		Arthur learns of the woman's treachery	Arthur cries out against the woman's treachery		
Curoi slain by his own sword	Carados slain by his own sword	Milocrates slain by his own sword	Arthur nearly slain by his own sword	Arthur slain by his own sword	Adradus slain by special sword	Crysteel slain by special sword

The correspondences in the sword episode and their relationship to the plot of the various romances may be shown in a comparative table. The pattern of the abduction of Blathnat showing up in this group of romances reenforces other correspondences in *Eger* and gives some assurance that the sword episode, like other motifs examined, derives from the Curoi tradition.

The history of the special sword considered necessary to kill Graysteel—that is, the story of it before it came into Grime's hands—is quite independent of the Curoi tradition, and as told in Version P, it suggests the outlines of another Irish tradition. Since the account in *Eger* is not entirely clear, the passage is quoted:

Palyas said, "there was sometimes in this countrye,
 Egar, your unckle Sir Egramie,
 & when that Egramye was liuand
 he had the guiding of a noble brand,
 the name of itt was called Erkyin;⁵¹
 well were that man had it in keeping!
 first when that sword was rought
 to King ffundus it was brought
 full far beyond the greekes sea,⁵²
 for a Jewell of high degree.
 when the King departed this world hence,
 he left it with the younge prince;⁵³
 & some sayd that Egramye
 shold loue that ladye in priuitye;
 he desired the sword in borrowing;
 the King deceased at that time;
 & when that Egrame was liuande,
 he had the guiding of that noble brand;
 that man was neuer of a woman borne,
 durst abyde the winde his face before.
 the Ladyes dwelling is heere nye;
 shee saith, 'there is noe man that sword shall see

till her owne sonne be att age & land,
& able to welde his fathers brande.' "

P, vss. 553-576

The situation, then, is apparently that King Fundus, the original owner of the sword, left it at his death to the young princess. Egramie loved this lady secretly, and because of this love he had possession of Egeking. After Egramye's death the lady was keeping the sword until her own son by Egramie should be able to wield it. When Grime asked her for it, however, for Eger's use in the impending battle with Gray-steel, "shee was loth to with say that Knight" (P, vs. 590), and lent him the sword.

Of this sword French and Hale say, "Possibly the weapon is left by a fairy for his son; cf. 'Degaré.' If so, the situation is rationalized." ⁵⁴ The suggestion of comparison with *Degaré*⁵⁵ is a good one. In the English *lai* a fairy knight appeared to a lady under a hawthorn tree and left her pregnant. Before leaving her, the knight gave her a sword with instructions that it be kept for the boy who would be born and that he be bidden to seek his father when he was grown. Since the sword had been broken and the father kept the point, the sword in the son's possession later served as a recognition token when father and son met in combat.

The story in *Eger* has been rationalized—the father is not a fairy knight and the sword is not explicitly a recognition token—but the outline is there. In both *Eger* and *Degaré* the lady has a sword left in her keeping by the knight who has secretly loved her. When the son who will be born to her is grown, the sword is to be given to him.

The motif is a fairly common one, though the token left by the father is usually a ring rather than a sword.⁵⁶ Two Irish sagas apparently provide the elements of the story. In the account of the birth of Bres in *The Second Battle of Moytura* and that of the birth of Connla, son of Cuchulainn, in *The Tragic Death of Connla*,⁵⁷ a father left with a woman he had visited a ring to be bestowed upon the boy who would be born of their union. In both stories the ring was kept for the

boy until it fitted his finger. In the account of Bres the ring served as a recognition token; the father recognized the ring on his son's finger. In the story of Connla the boy set out to find his father but was slain by Cuchulainn in a father and son combat. Though important elements of the story are lost in *Eger*, it is a plausible supposition that the Irish tradition so clearly preserved in *Degaré* has influenced the similar history of the sword in *Eger*.

Minor Motifs

In addition to the history of the sword there are a number of minor motifs connected with the battle of Graysteel and Grime that reflect Celtic influence—though not the Curoi tradition—or beliefs of folklore. The description of the hand of Graysteel⁵⁸ that Grime presented to Loosepine after the battle is startling:

it was red rowed for to see,
with fingars more then other three;
on euerye finger a gay gold ring,
a precious stone or a goodly thing.

P, vss. 1181-84

The possibility that the red color of the hand was related to the red arms and the waxing and waning strength of Graysteel has been pointed out. The extra fingers on the hand, Elizabeth Willson first noted, are a reminder of the seven fingers of Cuchulainn's hand; "Beautiful then was the lad that was raised up into view. Seven toes he had to each of his two feet, and seven fingers to each of his two hands."⁵⁹ The "gay gold ring" on every finger is at first surprising, but as has been previously noted, the same detail marked the hand of the eldritch king, which Sir Cawline cut off and presented to the princess in the ballad.⁶⁰ The similarity to the five rings on the dead hand of Raguidel in Raoul de Houdenc's *Vengeance Raguidel*⁶¹ has not, I believe, been noted. Actually, the detail is of some im-

portance in the romance. After Raguidel's death a helpful *fée* appeared, comforted Raguidel's *amie*, and put on the fingers of the dead man's hand five rings which must be drawn off by a man who would aid in avenging Raguidel's death. Yder succeeded in drawing off the rings after Gawain had failed, and later aided Gawain in avenging Raguidel.

In connection with the rings on Graysteel's hand, which were apparently traditional, it may be relevant to call attention to T. F. O'Rahilly's stress upon the importance of rings as solar symbols in Celtic story. He discusses the matter in an interesting passage:

One of the attributes of the sun-god was the healing of disease; and in this belief we have one of the reasons of the importance attached in ancient times to the wearing of rings or other solar emblems, which were primarily amulets and only secondarily ornaments. In particular a ring was more realistic, and therefore more efficacious, when it was made of gold and thus imitated the brightness, as well as the rotundity, of the sun.⁶²

He gives many examples of the wearing of rings in early Celtic literature, and discusses finger rings in particular.⁶³ He comments that in *Pwyll* Rhiannon gave rings to "all and sundry" and that Branwen did the same. The action of the *fée* in *Raguidel* in putting five rings on the fingers of the dead Raguidel, we may believe, shows Celtic influence. Any supernatural champion, then, with Celtic antecedents, like Graysteel or Cawline's eldritch king, might well wear a ring on every finger. Graysteel, with his splendid red arms and his strength that waxed and waned with the rising and setting of the sun, was perhaps especially well entitled to wear his shining gold rings.

One interesting Celtic feature of the combat in *Eger* need only be mentioned, since it is fully treated elsewhere. Both Elizabeth Willson and Professor Loomis noted the fighting horses in *Eger*.⁶⁴ After the battle of Grime with Graysteel the

poem tells us that the steeds of the two knights continued their masters' battle:

"Then Gryme looked by him soone;
they steeds were fighting as they had done."⁶⁵

P, vss. 1099-1100

Miss Willson and Professor Loomis cited parallels for these fighting steeds in *Bricriu's Feast* and *The Voyage of Mael Duin*, and Professor Loomis showed that this Celtic motif has been found in Arthurian romance.⁶⁶

An interesting detail in connection with the battle between Graysteel and Grime may reflect a folklore motif. Before the battle Loosepine advises Grime about the way to begin the fight:

looke thou make thy first counter like a Knight
& enter into his armour bright;
looke boldlye vpon him thou breake thy spear
as a manfull Knight in warr.

P, vss. 895-898

This would be sound psychological advice to any knight about to engage in battle, but it is tempting to think that in the words there is an echo of the advice Arawn gave Pwyll concerning the battle with Hafgan: "And one blow only thou art to give him; that he will not survive. And though he ask thee to give him another, give it not, however he entreat thee. For despite aught I might give him, as well as before would he fight with me on the morrow."⁶⁷

Arawn's counsel would appear to be based upon the very old and widespread belief that a second blow will heal a wound caused by the first. This curious idea is explained by A. H. Krappe,⁶⁸ who says it is related to an almost universal belief that a remedy must be like the cause. The weapon that caused the wound will therefore heal it. A commonplace of folklore, the idea that a second blow must be avoided became attached

to the *Pwyll* tradition, and from that tradition, which has strongly influenced *Eger*, it has seemingly turned up in attenuated form in Loosepine's charge to Grime. The lady's concern that the first blow be boldly dealt may well be traditional.

A widely disseminated folklore motif designated by Professor Stith Thompson as "recognition by missing finger" ⁶⁹ is given considerable prominence in *Eger and Grime*. It was a custom of Graysteel to cut off the little finger of the knights he defeated in battle. When Grime told Earl Bragas the story of Eger's encounter, he described Graysteel as a fierce knight who would require that Eger leave the little finger of his right hand as a "pledge" (*wedd* or *weed*) if he undertook the battle. Eger himself told Grime of recovering from a swoon after the fight and seeing that his little finger was missing. Then he saw nearby a slain knight whose "little finger was away" (P, vss. 421-422). By this token he recognized that this knight and he had fought the same opponent. Winliane twitted Eger with the loss of the finger as a mark of his humiliation. Later the missing finger served an important purpose in the plot, for it was the sign by which Loosepine recognized Grime's impersonation of Eger. She pulled the glove from Grime's hand and knew that the knight before her was not Eger, for—

there is noe Leech in all this land
can sett a fingar to a hand.

P, vss. 807-808.

The custom of Graysteel has been frequently noted. Hales commented on it in his and Furnivall's edition of the romance; Laing mentioned it briefly; Child, pointing out similarities between the ballad *Sir Lionel* and *Eger*, noted that, as the giant in *Lionel* demanded the little finger of Lionel's right hand, Graysteel similarly cut off Eger's little finger. Elizabeth Willson listed a number of Celtic stories in which the cut-off finger served as a recognition token, and rightly observed that it served the same purpose in *Eger*. Professor Caldwell also considered it a recognition token, and concluded that its

presence in three Scottish folktales related to the Two Brothers confirmed his opinion that the Giant Killer story, first component of the Two Brothers, was behind *Eger*.⁷⁰ Elizabeth Willson was perhaps on safer ground in simply noting that this recognition token was known to Celtic story tellers. The presence of the detail in *Sir Lionel*, which has many points of likeness to *Eger*, is especially interesting.

In summary, Curoi traditions account for Loosepine's enmity toward Graysteel, her revealing of the secret of Graysteel's strength to Grime, the solar traits of the champion, the special sword needed to kill him. Other Irish traditions account more or less clearly for the history of the special sword by which Graysteel met his death, for the extra fingers on the cut-off hand of Graysteel, for the rings on every finger of that hand, and for the horses of Grime and Graysteel that fought after their masters had ceased. A folklore motif that a second blow heals a wound made by the first, coming into the romance by way of the Welsh tradition of the ford combat, explains Loosepine's warning to Grime to make a bold first attack upon Graysteel. And the folklore motif "recognition by missing finger," known to Celtic story tellers, accounts for Graysteel's habit of cutting off the little finger of knights he has defeated, and provides a means by which Loosepine recognized Grime's disguise as Eger. The "warrior wight" of *Eger and Grime* is not a simple creature of a fifteenth-century poet's imagination.

CHAPTER IX

THE LAND OF BEAME

"It fell sometimes in the Land of Beame" P, vs. 1

A slight Bohemian coloring adds an unexpected touch of romance to *Eger*. The two heroes Eger and Grime lived in the land of Beame (P) or Bealme (HL), where they served its lord, Earl Bragas, father of Winliane. This land of Beam was surely Bohemia, as scholars have noted, though they have not been agreed on the point.¹ But the many references to Bohemia in medieval England and the varied forms of the word actually leave no room for doubt. The Latin chroniclers in England used the Latin spelling *Boemia*, without an *h*; for example, Matthew Paris and his continuator William Rishanger, and Ranulph Higden in *Polychronicon*.² Writers in Middle English varied the spelling somewhat: *Beme* (Minot), *Beawme* (Gower); *Bem* (Capgrave's fifteenth-century chronicle), and the examples could be multiplied.

In fact, *Beame*, the very spelling in *Eger*, was evidently still understood and used in England in the seventeenth century, for it occurs in a context that leaves no doubt as to its meaning. John Taylor, the Water Poet, visited Prague in 1620. Upon his return he wrote an account of his journey that is printed under the title *Taylors Travels to Bohemia*. In this account he refers to the country as *Bohemia*, but more than once he writes *Beame*: ". . . the Duke of Saxon was in Armes against the King of Beame."³ And in one sentence both forms occur: ". . . but all the Saxon coach men and carters were afraid to looke upon any part of Bohemia, because their Duke is a profest enemy in armes against the King of Beame."⁴ And

later in the century Anthony Wood tells us of "some . . . of this University that have bin well seen in antiquities" who believed that Beam Hall at Oxford was so named because Bohemian students lived there before the University of Prague was founded (in 1348).⁵ Beame in *Eger* is Bohemia, and not an "unidentifiable" land of romance, as it has been called.⁶

Although no other Bohemian influence has been hitherto noticed in *Eger*, there are traces of that influence in other place names and in personal names. When Sir Grahame left Sir Agam's lady, he returned to Eger to give him the noble sword that had belonged to Eger's uncle. The poem says—

Sir Grahame is from the lady gane
To Vaclaw, and his leave hath tane.

HL, vss. 851-852

This is the only mention of Vaclaw, but the name is Bohemian. Vaclav IV (Wenceslas IV, 1378-1419), son of Emperor Charles IV, had a part in the negotiations for the marriage of his younger sister Anne to Richard II of England. Many persons in England at that time, as we shall see, might have had opportunity to know this Czech name. When Sir Grahame went to Vaclaw, he was presumably returning to the city of Earl Bragas in Beam⁷—a city in the land of Vaclav, a king well known to the British.

Besides these two place names—Beam and Vaclaw—personal names also reflect Bohemian influence. Eger, a personal name, of course, in our poem, was the German name of a well-known city in medieval Bohemia⁸ (German *Eger*, Czech *Cheb*)—a city on the Eger River, a branch of the Elbe, and in Egerland. In the thirteenth century, Egerland had been ruled alternately by the German Empire and by Bohemia. In the early fourteenth century Lewis of Bavaria, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, assigned town and territory to King John of Bohemia.⁹ A city of some importance, it may be seen on maps of Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the present day. The hero of our poem would appear then to be of this city or this region—the knight of Eger.¹⁰ Earl Bragas, father of Winliane and

the greatest lord in the land of Beam except the king himself, presumably takes his name from the city of Prague. The Latin form of the name was Praga or Braga.¹¹ The corruption to Bragas was an easy one.¹² And who, indeed, would have had a better right to renown in the land of Beam than a great lord from this important city? ¹³

It is probable enough that a minstrel or a poet making a redaction of *Eger and Grime* in the late fourteenth century should have felt the Bohemian names a pleasing addition to his poem. The accounts of Bohemia in the chronicles describe a land that had evidently appealed to the imagination of insular writers well before the fifteenth century. That fabulous animal the boz (or leoz) that burned hunters and hounds with scalding water conveniently carried in a bag under its chin, though described realistically enough by Ranulph Higden,¹⁴ had assuredly never lived on land or sea. But its presence in descriptions of Bohemia in the Middle Ages and later bears witness to the air of romance that continued to cling to that somewhat remote land. Shakespeare's familiar lines—

Thou art perfect, then our ship hath touched upon
The deserts of Bohemia?

W. T., III, iii. 1-2

—take the geography of romance rather than of actuality into the seventeenth century, and suggest that an excellent playwright expected the pit as well as the galleries to enjoy the reference to a country he no doubt considered romantic.

But though geographers continued vague, and Bohemia kept the flavor of romance, cultural relations between Bohemia and western Europe were many by the fourteenth century.¹⁵ Early in the century relations with the west had been greatly accelerated by the fact that John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia (1310-1346), not only had loved France and been most at home in Paris, but had had many French men of letters in his entourage. Guillaume de Machaut, for thirty years a follower of John, reflects his knowledge of eastern Europe in his poetry, and place names of Bohemia and neighboring lands

abound in his verses.¹⁶ British poets, of course, knew Machaut. Chaucer's debt to him is well known, especially his indebtedness to *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne* as the important source of the *Book of the Duchess*. When the blind King John was killed fighting against the English in the Battle of Crécy in 1346, English chroniclers recorded his gallant death, and even the patriotic Lawrence Minot has a good word for his bravery:

þe king of Beme was cant and kene
Bot þere he left both play and pride.¹⁷

VII, vss. 107-108

But there was a closer relation between Bohemia and England in the late fourteenth century. The marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV and sister of Vaclav IV, has already been mentioned. As might be expected, this royal marriage greatly stimulated enthusiasm for things Bohemian and gave opportunity for Englishmen to learn something of Bohemian ways and people. The events preceding the wedding were colorful and must have provided material for many a conversation in court circles in England. Early in the negotiations Anne's brother Vaclav IV, of Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire, sent an embassy to represent him. The delegation was led by a most distinguished Czech noble, the Duke of Teschen, whom Vaclav referred to as "*Consanguineum nostrum carissimum*,"¹⁸ and included also Conrad Krajer and Peter of Wartenberg. The Czech ambassadors reached England in March, 1381, and spent April in negotiations. The Treaty of Alliance was announced at Westminster in May, and in September Vaclav ratified the Westminster Treaty in Prague.¹⁹ Shortly afterward Anne set out for England, "the duke of Tasson [Teschen] with her," according to Froissart, "and a great company of knightes, ladyes, and damosels."²⁰ Anne's uncle, Vaclav, Duke of Brabant, welcomed the young princess and her train at Brussels. There they remained for a month at the hospitable court of the Duke and the Duchess until safe conduct for the princess was procured

from the King of France.²¹ Then the journey to London was continued.

From the arrival of the young princess in England in December, 1381, to the death of the Queen in June, 1394, the love and admiration of the English people for the "good Queen Anne" put Bohemia in the fashion. The young queen herself would appear to have loved parties, and her admiring subjects had plenty of occasion to see her at various celebrations. There was, for example, her entry into London as a girl of fifteen, when in December, 1381, she arrived for the wedding and was "honourably receyved," Froissart says, by "the burgesses, ladyes, and damosels of the countrey and cytie."²² There were the "great feast and tryumphe" of her wedding day, the twentieth day after Christmas; the "great house" that Richard kept at Windsor, where he took the queen after her marriage;²³ and the tournaments lasting many days after the coronation of the queen—tournaments at which the Bohemian knights apparently came off rather better than English chroniclers felt called upon to report.²⁴ Still more striking was the jousting at Smithfield in 1390 on the king's full assumption of royal power, a celebration cried by heralds throughout England and Scotland and in various countries on the Continent, and presided over by the Queen.²⁵ Froissart describes the threescore ladies of the Queen, excellently mounted, each of whom led by a chain of silver a knight apparelled to joust. From the Tower of London they rode thus to the tilting ground, where the Queen with other ladies and damsels was seated with the King. At the Queen's lodging that night the dancing went on until day-break.²⁶ For several days the tournament continued, each day's jousting followed by feasting and dancing at night, with the Queen playing always her rôle of sovereign lady.

At some of these ceremonies, to be sure, it would be only the noblest of the realm who were privileged to enjoy the Queen's company. But she was dear also to her humbler subjects from the time of her first arrival in England, when at her earnest request the king granted a general pardon.²⁷ The executions after Wat Tyler's insurrection had been cruel, and the respite was needed. Her intercession at that time won for the

bride the title "the Good Queen Anne"—a title of which later years proved her worthy. A celebration doing honor to the Queen and belonging peculiarly to the people was that in 1392 when Anne's mediation was needed to reconcile the king to the citizens of London. A poem in questionable Latin verse by Richard de Maidstone, a Carmelite held in great esteem at court, describes in extravagant detail the welcome to the King and Queen. The background of the action that led to the king's disfavor is not relevant, but the great crowd, thicker than the stars in heaven, that celebrated the reconciliation is to the point.²⁸ Maidstone describes the guilds of every craft that were represented, from the apothecaries to the dealers in birds, with the device A (Anne) over R (Regina) freely used in design by these crafts.²⁹

Even the magnificent procession attended by all the English nobility and by the citizens of London when, nearly two months after her death at Sheen, she was brought to London for burial at Westminster Abbey,³⁰ suggests the pomp and circumstance that characterized the Queen's appearances. For through the twelve years of a splendid reign she would appear to have been frequently before the eyes of her subjects and often in their minds and hearts.

Naturally enough, all of the spectacle that attended the reign of Anne and the genuine affection in which she was held by the English people were reflected in fashions. "Monstrous and outrageous" horned caps two feet high and equally wide were the headdress of the ladies of Bohemia. After the royal bride wore this headgear in England, we are told that "these formidable novelties expanded their wings on every side, till at church or procession the diminished heads of lords and knights were eclipsed by their ambitious partners."³¹ And the side-saddle brought from Bohemia by Anne also found favor with the ladies. This saddle must have been a cumbersome affair, though impressive, for it is described as "like a bench with a hanging step, where both feet were placed," and a squire was necessary at the bridle rein of the lady's palfrey to guide her safely in processions.³²

It was not only the ladies, however, who were influenced by

Bohemian fashions. The men wore during this reign shoes called Cracowes with absurdly long pointed toes that were fastened to the calves with gold or silver chains to make walking possible.³³ Sometimes indeed the toes were so long that they had to be attached to the belt at the waist. Though it is not certain that the long pointed toes were introduced, as some historians say, by the courtiers attending Queen Anne, the use of gold and silver chains to fasten the toes was certainly due to Bohemian custom.³⁴ Altogether it is little wonder that when Cupid appeared to John Gower in *Confessio Amantis* with a company of former lovers, the poet observed "the newe guise of Beawme there, / With sondri thinges wel devised."³⁵

That this "newe guise of Beawme" should be reflected in literature as well as in fashion was only to be expected.³⁶ Chaucer's possible and probable references to Queen Anne have in particular aroused a great deal of speculation, much of it tempting but unfortunately based on somewhat tenuous clues. The supposition that the great "tydynges" Chaucer was to hear in *The House of Fame* were of the marriage of Richard and Anne, though it has been warmly supported, is by no means proved.³⁷ So, too, the scholarship that associates the *Parliament of Fowls* with the courtship and betrothal of Richard and Anne remains too conjectural for acceptance.³⁸ It is also a question whether Lydgate was right in saying that Chaucer wrote the *Legend of Good Women* at the request of Anne, or whether Chaucer was complimenting the Queen in his portrait of Alceste in that poem.³⁹ But he expressly charges in Prologue F that the *Legend* be presented to the Queen:

And whan this book ys maad, yive it the quene,
On my byhalf, at Eltham or at Sheene.

Prol. F, 496-497

And the often-quoted line in the *Troilus*—"Right as oure firste lettre is now an A" (I, 171)—is almost surely a reference to Anne.⁴⁰

In the *Knight's Tale* a number of passages in which Chaucer departs from his source in Boccaccio have been plausibly

explained as complimentary references to Queen Anne or her marriage to Richard. The line "And of the tempest at hir hoom-comynge" (A, 884) has been said to allude to the arrival of the Bohemian princess in England, when, Walsingham says, a storm destroyed the ship in which she had come.⁴¹ The intercession of the queen and her ladies as they begged mercy of Theseus for the lovers fighting in the grove (A, 1748 ff.) has suggested the intercession of Queen Anne upon several occasions.⁴² And the "parlement / At Atthenes" at which an alliance "with certein contrees" was considered (A, 2970-73) has been convincingly pointed out as a reference to discussion in the English Parliament concerning the marriage of Richard and Anne, and the alliance of England with Bohemia and the Papal States.⁴³

The setting of *Eger and Grime* in the land of Beam and the other Bohemian names in the romance may be explained similarly to the "newe guise of Beawme" in Gower and Chaucer's dedication of the *Legend* to the Queen. All must echo a Bohemian fashion and an awareness that any suggestion of Bohemian influence would waken a response in readers or hearers who had heard tales of the splendid court of an admired queen.

That an English poet or minstrel would know the Bohemian names appears not improbable—that he would know the name Vaclaw, for instance, in its Czech form rather than the Latin Wenceslaus found in formal documents. Certainly there were a good many Czechs in England during the reign of Anne. Froissart's "great company of knightes, ladyes, and damosels" that accompanied Anne to England "as it apertheyned to suche a lady"⁴⁴ may well be a romantic exaggeration, but occasionally we find a name or a bit of reliable information. The correspondence of Richard II, for example, provides instructive glimpses. A letter from Richard to Urban VI⁴⁵ is a petition in favor of Henry de Reybutz, priest of the diocese of Wartizlanen⁴⁶ (German Breslau), chaplain and "commensalis" to the Queen. In a letter to Elizabeth, mother of Anne, Richard thanks the Empress for sending "ffratrem Jacobum," "religiosum virum . . . consortis nostre carissime confessorem."

And in the same letter the King mentions "*puellas alias nobis a vestra serenitate transmissas.*"⁴⁷ A letter written by Anne to Vaclav explains that "*dominus Nicholaus*" was retained by Richard "*pro uno de suis secutoribus militibus.*"⁴⁸ And the Issue Rolls corroborate Richard's act, for entries mention Czech knights who served the King, especially during the Scottish campaign of 1385.⁴⁹ These are hints only, but they offer the kind of evidence that must satisfy us in the absence of full records. We may remember, too, another Bohemian bride in England besides the Queen, for Robert de Vere, a favorite courtier of Richard II, married a Czech lady who came to England in the train of Queen Anne.⁵⁰

That these Bohemians in England spoke Czech cannot be doubted. Anne herself was born and reared in Prague in a court at which the Czech language and literature were well established.⁵¹ Her father, Charles IV, in his autobiography spoke of having to relearn the Czech language when he returned to Prague after an absence of eleven years in France and Italy. But, said Charles, he learned it again so that he spoke and understood it as well as any other Czech.⁵² With the purpose of making Prague the cultural center of the Empire, he participated in and encouraged the development of a vernacular literature. As one of many projects, in 1348 he commissioned the translation of the Bible into Czech, and it is said that Anne took to England with her a Latin lectionary with Czech and German translations.⁵³ Surely it would be natural that Bohemian names of persons and places would be heard in England at a court where there were a Queen, knights, clergy, and "*puellae*" attendant upon the Queen whose native tongue was Czech.

And besides the Czechs in England, it should be remembered that there were Englishmen visiting Bohemia during the reign of Anne. Only one example need be cited here. In 1392, about seven years before he became king, Henry Earl of Derby left England with a large retinue—Capgrave says three hundred men; the account books name eighty-seven⁵⁴—intending to join the Order of Teutonic Knights in an expedition against the Lithuanians. In 1390-1391 Henry, like

Chaucer's knight, had engaged in a "reysa" against Lithuania. The expedition of 1392, however, was not carried out according to plans. Instead, after going from Dantzic to Königsberg, Henry returned to Dantzic and from there made his way to the Holy Land. With a reduced retinue, still numbering between forty and fifty, he left Dantzic and proceeded to Bohemia.⁵⁵ Cousin to Richard II, the Earl of Derby was a family connection of Vaclav IV. He therefore interrupted his journey to Jerusalem with a visit of eleven days at Vaclav's court in Prague.⁵⁶ During his stay he went with the Emperor for three days to Vaclav's favorite country seat, and according to the account books, made many purchases in Prague.⁵⁷ The rest of the long, colorful journey does not concern us. The English retinue that accompanied Henry is of interest, however—knights, officers, esquires, heralds, minstrels, valets and servants, all named in the accounts and pay-lists of the expedition,⁵⁸ who with the Earl traveled through Bohemia, and later returned to England, to talk of their experiences in hall or kitchen.

Just how the Bohemian names appeared in *Eger and Grime* without affecting either plot or geography is a matter of conjecture. It is reasonable to suppose that they were added in England during the reign of Anne, when Bohemia was in the fashion and when an English poet or minstrel might have been most likely to know them. The traditional matter in the poem points to a long process of development behind the version in the Percy manuscript, and the slight Bohemian coloring makes an English stage of the romance possible or probable. The Bohemian names touch the imagination today as they did in an earlier century, and add a piquant touch of romance.⁵⁹

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

The story of Graysteel with which two fiddlers entertained King James IV of Scotland we may now believe was a composite of motifs deriving from a variety of medieval sources. As we have examined the elements that went to form plot and characters of *Eger and Grime*, we have glimpsed something of the waywardness and inconsequence and much of the tenacity of story ways. To understand better those story ways as they affected *Eger*, we shall need to look briefly at what is known concerning the transmission of Celtic story stuff to the romances. Then, to recapitulate the Celtic influences on the poem, we shall, in so far as is possible, separate the strands of Irish and Welsh legend that went into the romance and note what the slighter Breton contribution may have been. Finally, although evidence is lacking for the literary tradition of *Eger* before the Percy manuscript, we shall note a presumably late and certainly unexpected Bohemian coloring in a group of personal and place names. Let us look first at the route by which Celtic legend was transmitted to the romances.

Understanding of the transmission of the Arthurian legend may well begin with a knowledge of the part Wales played as an intermediary.¹ We have seen that early Welsh literature has characters and incidents that parallel those in Irish literature. We have said that for some of this material the Welsh were drawing upon very ancient Celtic tales, and that they probably borrowed more superficial elements directly from the Irish at a later date.² We know that continuous close contact between Ireland and Wales made this later borrowing easy, as similarities of language and of cultural and social

conditions made it natural.³ Moreover, the same Welsh story material that shows Irish influence is utilized in French Arthurian romance.⁴ The body of medieval Welsh literature is so small that we cannot, to be sure, find exact Welsh intermediate forms between Irish and Arthurian stories. But we can see, for example, that the Irish story of the Conception of Mongan has influenced the first episode in *Pwyll*, and we have found that episode—the combat at the ford—turning up again and again in the romances. Professor Helaine Newstead, recognizing the presence of Irish material in *Branwen*, has traced the Welsh figure Bran through his multifarious appearances in Arthurian romance.⁵ W. J. Gruffydd has demonstrated the unquestionable relationship between the Irish story of the betrayal of Curoi by Blathnat and the betrayal of Llew by Blodeuwedd in the *mabinogi* of *Math*; and Professor Loomis has recognized that the betrayal of Carado of the Dolorous Tower in the *Vulgate Lancelot* and the betrayal of Milocrates in *De Ortu Walwanii* are analogous to these betrayal stories, though it is true more closely parallel to the Irish than to the Welsh.⁶

Nomenclature also attests the Welsh contribution to Arthurian romance, for many names found in the French romances are of Welsh origin. So, for example, Brengain is admittedly from Branwen, Iseult from Essylt, the monster Capalu (Chapalu) from the cat Cath Palug, which according to one tradition killed Arthur, Tortain from the boar Twrch Trwyth. And from the immediate circle of Arthur's Court, names as familiar as Gawain, Keus, Beduier, Merlin, Guenievre are derived from Welsh tradition.⁷

Southern Scotland also made some contribution to the matter of the romances, as the study of names and story in the Tristan legend has shown.⁸ Cornwall, too, gave us localizations like Tintagel, Kelliwic en Cernyw (Cornwall), capital of Arthur; and the personal names Modred and Gorlois.⁹ And Geoffrey of Monmouth himself called Arthur the boar of Cornwall, and gave Cornwall an important place in the Arthurian legend.

But if the story material of Arthurian romance passed

through Wales, after having received Irish elements and having added matter from southern Scotland and Cornwall, the question of how it reached the romances remains. And to this question, the answer which most satisfactorily explains what is known is that the Bretons transmitted the insular tales to the French.¹⁰ Wace completed his *Roman de Brut* in 1155. From this poem, based upon Geoffrey of Monmouth, but embellishing the *Historia*, we may learn that Breton *conteurs* told tales of Arthur with the story-teller's instinct that made the stories none the worse in the telling:

Fist Artur la Roünde Table
Dunt Bretun dient mainte fable.
.....
Tant unt li cunteür cunté
E li fableür tant ffablé
Pur lur cuntes enbeleter,
Que tut unt fait fable sembler.¹¹

Earlier in the twelfth century William of Malmesbury had written indignantly of the "nugae Britonum" concerning Arthur, who deserved that "veraces historiae" be told of him rather than "fallaces . . . fabulae."¹² And at the end of the century Giraldus Cambrensis in a passage describing with complete credence the finding of Arthur's body at Glastonbury spoke of "fabulosi Britones et eorum cantores."¹³ Thus all three of these twelfth century authors referred to the Bretons as the tellers of untrustworthy tales of an Arthur who had become a legend. All of them used the French word *Breton* or the Latin *Britones*, which when applied to contemporaries meant the Bretons and not the Welsh.¹⁴

In the romances themselves are further indications of the part the Bretons played in the dissemination of Arthurian story. There are, for example, the Breton names of Tristan's father Rivalin and his father-in-law Hoel,¹⁵ and the Breton locale of the beginning and end of the romance. There is in Chrétien's *Yvain* the localization of a marvelous adventure in the forest of Broceliande; in *Erec* of the coronation of Erec at

Nantes, and the fact that it was from Guerec, a tenth-century count of Nantes, that Erec himself got his name.¹⁶

That the Bretons should carry the stories of Arthur to the French was natural enough. Related to the Welsh and the Cornish by race and by language, bound to the French by political and cultural ties, speaking both their own Celtic language and French, knowing the stories of Arthur and according to the testimony of Wace, ever ready to tell them, they were in a wholly favorable position to receive and to pass on the Arthurian legend. Moreover, they had evidently professional story-tellers not unlike the Welsh *cfarwyddiaid*. The "cantores" of whom Giraldus spoke were presumably singing the Breton *lais*, which the French would not have understood. But the bilingual Bretons had also their *conteurs* who told tales in French prose.¹⁷ Wauchier, Chrétien's continuator, tells us of them—

..... cil menestrel
gisent la nuit en lor hostel
e il lor font -I- poi conter
d'une aventure sanz rimer . . .¹⁸

That these *conteurs* went not only to France but farther afield we have some evidence. Breton influence on name forms of the Modena sculpture and the fact that the Arthurian abduction story carved on the Modena archivolt had reached Italy early in the twelfth century are best explained by the presence of Breton *conteurs* at the court of a Norman count of Apulia in the winter of 1096-1097.¹⁹ Moreover, certain insular place names in the French romances may well be due to the Breton *conteurs* who went to England in large numbers after the Norman Conquest and who we have seen roused the indignation of William of Malmesbury. Traveling over the island of Britain as they plied their trade, they localized certain incidents in Wales, Cornwall, even southern Scotland. Then, returning to the Continent, they told their stories in Brittany and France, keeping the insular place names.²⁰ Thus Anglo-Norman forms of place names which the Bretons could

have learned only after the Norman Conquest may turn up in the romances..

The story as a whole is consistent. The Bretons migrating from the island of Britain to Armorica in the fifth and sixth centuries took with them a store of most ancient Celtic tales. In the following centuries stories came to them across the Channel. Breton *conteurs* learned the Welsh stories when the tales had already assimilated some of the story stuff of Ireland and had added material from Cornwall and Scotland. They adapted to continental, and after the Conquest to insular, audiences tales which the *cyfarwyddiaid* had told in Wales.

On both sides of the Channel, then, the stories were undergoing an independent growth, subjected to the changes that inevitably take place as a result of oral transmission. We have mentioned these changes as they affected the Welsh tales which took written form in the *Four Branches*. In Brittany a similar process went on. Distinct stories or different versions of the same story tended to fuse, supernatural elements were rationalized, contemporary customs and settings were introduced, two or more characters were fused into one, or one character was split into two or more.²¹ In Brittany, too, the Welsh names were transformed when Breton *conteurs* heard them incorrectly or substituted similar Breton names.²² When the tales reached the romancers, the process of change went on as authors tried to harmonize conflicting traditions, and to write down the names they had heard. And when manuscripts were copied, scribal corruption was added to faulty understanding.

It is essentially this process that must have taken place with the story stuff of *Eger and Grime*. The earliest materials were the bits of Irish saga. The stories of Curoi Mac Dairi, *The Death of Fergus Mac Leide*, tales of Bres and Cuchulainn and Connla—all these and more, it will be remembered, had echoes in the romance. The Irish contribution from these sources was an important one indeed. From traditions of Curoi came the solar traits of Graysteel—his red arms and horse, his waxing and waning strength—perhaps his name, his previous relation to Loosepine, Loosepine's betrayal to Grime of the

secret of Graysteel's strength, Graysteel's death at Grime's hands, and the use of a special sword to defeat Graysteel. *The Death of Fergus Mac Leide* accounted ultimately for Winliane's taunts to Eger upon his unfortunate encounter and Eger's consequent wounded pride leading to a second adventure. From various Irish sources came the history of the sword Egeking, the extra fingers on Graysteel's hand and perhaps his gay gold rings, and the fighting horses that continued their masters' battle. Possibly of Irish origin are the spot of red, or "lovespot," between Loosepine's eyebrows and the fairy food and fairy music with which she entertained both Eger and Grime.

The Irish stories that influenced Eger no doubt traveled first to Wales. Curoi legends had reached Wales by the twelfth century; a Welsh poem on the death of Curoi has been assigned to this period.²³ And the other Irish stories that affected the poem must likewise have passed through the hands of the *cyfarwyddiaid*.

In Wales, too, the *cyfarwyddiaid* told their own Welsh tales. Most important for *Eger* was the story of a ford combat in which Pwyll substituted for Arawn, king of Annwn. This story, itself a blend of an Irish tradition of the conception of Mongan and a Welsh seasonal myth, is preserved in the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll*, which Kittredge once called "one of our most precious relics of genuine Welsh tradition."²⁴ The main contributions of this Welsh tale to *Eger and Grime* outline the plot of the romance: the friendship motif that explains Grime's substitution for Eger in a second battle with Graysteel and the disguise assumed for the battle, the localization of that battle near a ford, the defeat of the supernatural antagonist by Grime, the establishing of the identity of Eger and Grime after the battle.

Other Welsh contributions are also significant. In Wales legends of the mythical Modron were current.²⁵ Almost surely as the counterpart of the Arthurian fay Morgain and very possibly as the wife of Arawn, king of Annwn, she influenced the character of the lady Loosepine. Some Welsh influence is also to be detected upon the other heroine of *Eger*, Winliane.

Though legends of Gwenhwyfar must have been circulating early in Wales,²⁶ the records are scanty in the small body of early Welsh literature that has survived. Thus we cannot be sure when the particular stories of Arthur's haughty queen that affected *Eger* entered the complex plot. But the name at least of Eger's lady, *Winliane*, is a Welsh contribution to the poem. The importance for *Eger and Grime* of the Welsh stage of the legend cannot be overestimated, since it is the story of the Welsh ford combat that provides the central plot and the friendship motif on which all the action turns.

From the *cyfarwyddiaid* the Breton *conteurs* received Welsh tales, and after the Norman Conquest they told them in Anglo-Norman England and southern Scotland as well as in their own country and France. In their hands, as we have seen, the process of combination and modification went on as it had done earlier in Wales. The varied forms in which the same stories that influenced *Eger* turn up in the romances witness the freedom with which the *conteurs* used their materials. We noted, for example, the influence of the Blathnat abduction plot upon the *Vulgate Lancelot*, *De Ortu Walwanii*, *Amis and Amiloun*, the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, and *Eger and Grime*. And we saw the influence of the Welsh ford combat on both *Le Lai de l'Espine* and *Diu Crône*, though other traditions that affected the two poems were very different. What might be called a Breton stage of the romance, we may conclude, accounts for a good deal in *Eger*. Much of the blending of materials and the tying up of various strands into the plot of the romance must have been the contribution of the *conteurs*. More specifically, the influence of traditions of Morgain la Fée upon Loosepine was probably due to the Bretons—the name of the heroine, *Loosepine* (*la dame de l'espine*), as well as the other connections of the lady with the fay of the thorn. For the *conteurs* knew well the legends of Morgain and spread them in England and France.²⁷

In view of the Arthurian analogues of *Eger*, the materials of the poem itself, and the fact that the route of transmission of Celtic story affords an explanation for the development of the legend behind the poem, the conclusion may be tentatively

drawn that *Eger and Grime* was originally an Arthurian romance. To be sure, Arthur himself does not appear, nor do most of his knights, nor does Guinevere under her own name. But the materials that went into it are the same as those in many Arthurian romances. In it is a fay of the thorn, no more difficult to recognize as Morgan la Fée than was Oriande in *Maugis d'Aigremont* or many another fay of the romances. In it Winliane, whom under the Welsh name the story teller no longer recognized as Guinevere, remembered her ancient love for Yder, but behaved toward him as arrogantly as she was accustomed to do in domestic scenes with her spouse Arthur. In it traditions of two of the best of Arthur's knights—Yder and Gawain—appear to have fused with those of two friends in *Pwyll* to produce the central episode. In it moreover was another knight without whom no Arthurian company was complete, the omnipresent Kay—not in *Eger* the churlish Kay so often met in the romances, but the valiant Kay also well known to tradition. For it was none other than "Sir Kay of Kaynes" who, even in the seventeenth-century Percy version, rescued Eger from a band of heathen after the hero had slain a "soldan" (P, vss. 705 ff.). Kaynes is probably to be taken as "Caen," as W. H. French and C. B. Hale have pointed out,²⁸ and the designation identifies Sir Kay of Kaynes as the knight of Arthur, for Kay's association with Caen was known. Indeed, Lagamon, by a typical bit of medieval etymologizing, had Arthur name Caen for Kay because that knight died and was buried there:

For Keies daeþe, Kain he hit hehte;
Nu and aueremare swa hit hehte þere.²⁹

Vss. 27921-22

These are the only Arthurian characters now to be identified in *Eger and Grime*, but it is a convincing number in view of the similarity of their behavior and that of their Arthurian prototypes. One place name that belongs in the Arthurian onomasticon may also be mentioned. When Grime rode homeward after his successful battle, he visited a burgess (in HL)

who told him that the knight who "ought [owned] this town" lived "in Galias that great Countrie" (HL, vs. 2278).³⁰ Gales, an Anglo-Norman form, was commonly used to designate Wales in Arthurian romance.³¹ Galias looks like a corruption of this form, and the "great countrie" is probably Wales. To be sure, the Arthurian patterns are dim in *Eger and Grime*. But the fading will not surprise us if we consider the many hands through which the story passed and the length of time that the material was subject to the processes of oral transmission. We are fortunate if the outlines are still clear enough to be identified.

For the literary history of the romance before the Percy manuscript, evidence is unfortunately lacking. How many written versions there may have been or to what locality versions earlier than those that are extant may have belonged, we do not know. Most of the romances here studied as analogues belong to the thirteenth century—for example, the *Didot Perceval*, *Diu Crône*, *De Ortu Walwani*. *Le Lai de l'Espine* is of the twelfth. The gap is a long one. Up to the end of the fifteenth century there is complete silence. Then we have only the brief record in the account book of the Treasurer of Scotland in 1497; references to Graysteel in the sixteenth century; notices in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of editions not now extant. At last in the mid-seventeenth century the Percy manuscript gives us the poem we know.

At some future time new evidence may be available. Conceivably an earlier manuscript than the Percy may be found, or a copy of an earlier printed edition than the one printed in Glasgow by Robert Sanders in 1669. Or with the materials at hand, a more thorough linguistic study than has yet been made may yield some information concerning the provenience of the romance. Or a study of parallels between *Eger* and the Middle English *Ywain and Gawain*, *Roswall and Lillian*, and perhaps certain other Middle English romances³² may recapture something of the literary history of *Eger and Grime*. These possibilities do not lie within the bounds of this book. For the present we have the tantalizing references of the end of the fifteenth and of the sixteenth and early seventeenth cen-

turies—only these that have long been known and one other bit of evidence here presented, the Bohemian names.

How these Bohemian names found their way into the romance we do not know. We can only say that the most probable time for them to have been added was during the last two decades of the fourteenth century. The most probable place is England. Beame, Vaclav, Eger, Praga (or Braga)—these names would have been most likely to charm Englishmen on English soil during the reign of the "good Queen Anne," the Bohemian princess who was consort of Richard II. Thus they suggest the possibility of an English stage of the romance.

Actually there is little to tell us when *Eger* became a Scottish romance. Internal evidence of material and of names would indicate that the Scottish stage was late. The geography of the HL version, to be sure, suggests Scotland. The mountains, the frequent reference to the moors (the "mount upon a moor," HL, vs. 118, the "moss and ling [heather], and bare wild moor," HL, vs. 2332, etc.), though not conclusive, would fit a Scottish landscape well. But the descriptions of scenery in the Percy version, with their dales and parks and dun deer (P, vs. 929 *et al*), are more conventional, and I believe the Percy version to be the earlier. Definitely Scottish are the names *Lillias* substituted for *Loosepine* and *Grahame* substituted for the closely related name *Grime*,³³ but these names occur only in the HL version. Of the language of both P and HL we can at present say only that it is northern.³⁴

External evidence, though slight, is a guide in establishing tentatively a *terminus ad quem* for the Scottish stage of *Eger*. The earliest editions of the romance that are recorded were all from Scottish printers.³⁵ Lyndsay's reference to Graysteel in 1515 presupposed at least that his Scottish readers knew the romance. Probably we may believe that the fiddlers in 1497 were entertaining James IV with a Scottish version of "Graysteil," and that sometime in the fifteenth century there was a Scottish romance.

By the fifteenth century, then, we may think of a Scottish poet who dealt with traditions that sometimes presented puzzles to which he had no key. He added his own bit of rationali-

zation, and invented where he pleased. He it was perhaps who explained the name Loosepine (or Loosepaine) by the heroine's healing power—her ability to 'loose' from 'pain.' He too probably elaborated upon the ministrations of Grime to his friend after Eger's defeat, enjoyed composing the words that flowed from Winliane's tart tongue, and humbled her pride after Graysteel was slain. The final unity of plot and character was his. So too was much of the charm of the poem—the words with which the two friends pledged their friendship or the picture of Loosepine stepping from her "fresh arbor."

When the traditional material of *Eger and Grime* is recognized, the poet cannot, to be sure, be credited with having invented a plot. But medieval authors felt no necessity for inventing their own plots. And we may read the poem with the greater pleasure for knowing something of the story stuff that went into it. James Russell Lowell expressed a possible attitude toward Arthurian romance in his essay on Chaucer, previously quoted. "What are the *Romans d'avantures*," he asks, "the cycle of Arthur and his knights, but a procession of armor and plumes, mere spectacle . . . ? An element of disproportion, of grotesqueness, earmark of the barbarian, disturbs us . . . in them all."³⁶

The "armor and plumes" are there in *Eger and Grime*, but they may please rather than disturb if the bright armor of Graysteel recalls the solar aspect of a strange figure of ancient Irish legend, Curoi mac Dairi. The disproportion and the grotesqueness are in *Eger*, too, if by these terms may be meant whatever is not understandable in terms of the romance itself, floating bits of tradition not assimilated or harmonized to their new environment. But these too may please when their background is known. The token by which Loosepine is to be recognized, for instance, the tiny spot of red between her brows, touches the imagination when it is recognized as a "love-spot" like that which made Diarmuid irresistible to women. Even the grotesque red hand of Graysteel presented to Loosepine after the champion's death, with its extra fingers and its gay gold rings, does not "disturb" a reader who remembers

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the extra fingers of Cuchulainn's hand and recognizes the Celtic origin of Graysteel. A knowledge of the traditional background of *Eger and Grime* may indeed heighten the pleasure of a reader who, as well as Sir Eger himself, likes "bookes of Romans for to reede."

NOTES

Chapter I

Introduction

1 *Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*, ed. T. Dickson (Edinburgh, 1877), I, 329-330.

2 *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum . . . A.D. 1424-1513*, ed. J. B. Paul (Edinburgh, 1882), p. 500.

3 St. Marock (variously spelled Mawarroch, Maroch, Marrok, etc.) is said to be St. Roque (or Roch), a fourteenth century French saint, born at Montpellier, who because of his service to the plague-stricken in Italy came to be invoked against pestilence (Donald Attwater, *A Dictionary of Saints*, New York, 1926). His popularity in Scotland is well attested, five chapels having been dedicated to him—in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, and Stirling (J. M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1910-1914, II, 362). Mackinlay says that King James seems to have been especially devoted to this saint, for in 1502 fifteen French crowns were given to the French friar "that brocht ane bane of Sanct Rowk to the king be the kingis command" (*The Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, II, 346, quoted by Mackinlay, II, 363). Several Scottish corruptions of the Saint's name are recorded (Adam and Charles Black, *The Book of Saints*, 4th ed., London, 1947), and Mackinlay explains St. Marrokis chapel at Stirling as that of St. Roque (II, 364. See also J. S. Fleming, *The Old Castle Vennal of Stirling . . . with the Old Brig of Stirling*, Stirling, 1906, pp. 152, 156-157). The little chapel stood near the old bridge over the Forth, and the name "St. Marrokis Chapel and yaird" was kept in the list of the town's feu duties to the end of the eighteenth century (*Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1667-1752*, with Appendix, Glasgow, 1889, pp. 301, 312, 327, and map in frontispiece; James Ronald, *Landmarks of Old Stirling*, Stirling, 1899, p. 166).

NOTES

- 4 *The Complaynt of Scotlande*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, EETS, ES, XVII-XVIII (London, 1872).
- 5 *Complaynt*, XVII, 16.
- 6 *Complaynt*, XVII, 62-63.
- 7 *Complaynt*, XVII, 63.
- 8 D. Lyndesay, *The Historie of Squyer Meldrum*, ed. F. Hall, EETS, XXXV (London, 1868), 357-358.
- 9 J. Pinkerton, *Scotish Poems* (London, 1792), II, 18.
- 10 *Early Metrical Tales* (Edinburgh, 1826), pp. vii-xxiv.
- 11 *Early Metrical Tales*, p. xiv.
- 12 David Hume of Godscroft, *The History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus* (Edinburgh, 1743), II, 107-108.
- 13 Letter written by Robert Logan of Restalrig. See Robert Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1833), II, 287. See also John Bruce, *Papers relating to William [Ruthven], First Earl of Gowrie, and Patrick Ruthven* (London, 1867), p. 33. William Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton* (Edinburgh, 1859), I, 61.
- 14 Quoted by David Laing, *Early Metrical Tales*, p. xvi.
- 15 *The Writings of James Russell Lowell* (Cambridge, Mass., 1890), III, 327.
- 16 *The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry* (Edinburgh and London, 1887), p. 153.
- 17 *An Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714* (London, 1933), pp. 28-29.
- 18 *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1954), p. 68.
- 19 Lewis, p. 69.
- 20 *Mod. Phil.*, XXXI (1933-1934), 323.
- 21 For earliest known printed editions, not now extant, see Laing, *Early Popular Poetry*, revised by W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1895), II, 120 ff. The earliest edition on record, Laing says, is from the press of Thomas Bassandyne, a well-known Scottish printer. Bassandyne's inventory, dated October 18, 1577, contained the following item: "III C [hundred] Gray Steillis" valued at the "pece vi^d.—Summa £ VII.x.o." Laing mentions a permit to Robert Smyth of Edinburgh to print *Gray Steill*, among other books, in 1595—a grant that was confirmed to Smyth's heirs in 1602, to Thomas Finlayson in 1606, and to Walter Finlayson in 1628.
- 22 *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, I (London, 1867), xii-xiii.

23 *Ibid.*, Vol. I.

24 *Eger and Grime, an Early English Romance*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall (London, 1867). The Percy Version was also printed in *Middle English Metrical Romances*, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale (New York, 1930), pp. 671-717.

25 *Eger and Grime*, ed. J. R. Caldwell (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), pp. 180-348.

26 For a description of this book and an account of Professor Caldwell's search for it, see *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, p. 160, n. 27.

27 Donald Wing in his *Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed . . . 1641-1700* (New York, 1945-1951) so lists it. See items H 2139 and H 2140, II, 192.

28 David Laing, *Early Metrical Tales* (Edinburgh, 1826), pp. xi-xii, and *Early Popular Poetry*, II, 122, n. 2, gives information about the 1711 edition. The copy used by George Ellis for his paraphrase of the romance (*Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, rev. by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1848) and also lent to Laing for his 1826 edition by Francis Douce, Esq., is now in the Bodleian Library (pressmark Douce R 267). Mr. C. J. Hindle of the Department of Printed Books at the Bodleian in a personal letter wrote me, concerning this copy, that Douce wrote on a fly-leaf, "I lent this little volume to Mr. Laing of Edinburgh to reprint part of it in his elegant work entitled 'Early Metrical Tales, 1826, 12°.'"

29 Laing's edition was reprinted in 1889 (*Early Scottish Metrical Tales*, ed. D. Laing, new ed., London, Glasgow, 1889). This reprint purported to be printed verbatim from the 1826 edition but in fact differed from it slightly in detail. W. Carew Hazlitt reprinted the poem in 1895 in his two-volume revision of Laing's edition, which he entitled *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border* (London, 1895).

30 *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, 341-342. G. Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, new ed. by J. O. Halliwell (London, 1848), p. 546.

31 EETS, ES, XVII, lxxix.

32 See her unpubl. diss. (Univ. of Chicago, 1914), "Celtic Parallels to the Metrical Romance of 'Eger and Grime,'" pp. 8-12.

33 E. Rickert, *Early English Romances in Verse . . . Romances of Friendship* (London, New York, 1908), pp. xxiii, 182. L. Hibbard Loomis *Medieval Romance in England*, 2d ed. (New York, 1960), p. 312.

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- 34 *Early Popular Poetry*, II, 124.
- 35 G. Reichel, *Englische Studien*, XIX (1894), 15.
- 36 *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, p. 28.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- 38 *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIX (1934), 447.
- 39 The list of tales that includes *Eger and Grime* in *The Complaynt of Scotlande* contains English as well as Scottish titles (*Complaynt of Scotlande*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, EETS, ES, XVII, lxxiii ff.). See also E. K. Chambers, *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), p. 181: "Certainly it [the list in *Complaynt of Scotlande*] includes English as well as Scottish material. In fact, it begins with 'the taylis of cantirberrie.'"
- 40 Pinkerton, *Scotish Poems*, II, 18.
- 41 *Works of John Tayler the Water-Poet*, Spenser Soc. Publ., vols. 2-4 ([Manchester], 1869), p. 176.
- 42 *Sir Tristrem*, ed. by Walter Scott, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1806), p. liv.
- 43 *Early Popular Poetry*, ed. Laing, rev. by Hazlitt, II, 118.
- 44 *Englische Studien*, XIX (1894), 1-66.
- 45 *Early English Romances . . . Romances of Friendship*, pp. xxi-xxii.
- 46 "Celtic Parallels," p. 14.
- 47 *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, Introd., p. 49.
- 48 D. Everett, *Year's Work in English Studies*, 14 (1933), 122-123; *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIX (1934), 446-447. H. Marcus, *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XLV (1934), 233-235. A. Taylor, *Mod. Phil.*, XXXI (1933-1934), 323-324. H. A. Basilius, *Mod. Phil.*, XXXV (1937-1938), 129-133.
- 49 Basilius, *Mod. Phil.*, XXXV (1937-1938), 133.
- 50 *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 180-353. The Percy version contains 1470 verses.
- 51 Several additional episodes end the romance in HL. The text is however so corrupt as to be at times unintelligible. The meaning of the concluding lines seems to be as follows: Grime married Lillias. Later Grime died. Eger confessed to Winliane that Grime, not he, had slain Graysteel. Winliane in anger left Eger and entered a convent. After fighting bravely in an expedition to the Holy Land, Eger returned and married Lillias. These episodes, I believe, do not represent traditional material, and were late additions to the romance. This longer version has 2860 lines.
- 52 *Sir Tristrem*, ed. W. Scott, 2nd ed., p. liv.
- 53 *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, 342.

54 W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (London, 1921), p. 232.

55 *Early English Romances . . . Romances of Friendship*, p. xx.

56 "Celtic Parallels to the Metrical Romance of 'Eger and Grime.' "

57 Hibbard, pp. 312-319.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 314.

59 *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 51-142.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 64-79.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

64 *Mod. Phil.*, XXXI (1933-1934), 323 f.; *Jour. of American Folklore*, XLVII (1934), 265-266.

65 *Die Zwei Brüder*, FFC, 114 (Helsinki, 1934), 109.

66 See *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 81-83 and Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York, 1951), pp. 25 ff., for Caldwell's summary of the type tale and Thompson's reconstruction, based upon Ranke's.

67 Miss Willson noted the *Pwyll* episode as a "valuable parallel to *Eger*" because of "the combat, which clearly takes place in an otherworld expedition" ("Celtic Parallels," pp. 56-57). Professor Caldwell considered *Pwyll* to be a Celtic version of the Exchange of Identities, which he believed to be one of the two tales making up the Two Brothers (*Eger and Grime*, pp. 86, 91, 102, 119, 150). (But see A. Taylor, *Mod. Phil.*, XXXI, 1933-1934, 323-324.) Professor Caldwell believed *Eger and Grime* to be likewise a version of the Exchange of Identities (*Eger and Grime*, pp. 79-95). Professor Loomis noted parallel features in *Eger and Grime* and *Pwyll* and the derivation of these features from the Welsh ford complex (*JEGP*, XLII, 1943, 178, n. 101; also *Mod. Phil.*, XLIII, 1945, 65; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 276, n. 11). See also above, pp. 23-24.

68 *Arthur and Gorlagon*, ed. G. L. Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VIII (1903), 265-266. The entire passage is so clear a statement of the aims of a study of this sort that it is tempting to quote a longer excerpt:

Something produced a great change in the literature of France in the twelfth century,—that is to say, in the literature of the western world. . . . That *something* professes to be the emptying into French literature of a

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large body of Celtic material,—not a little leaven, but a huge mass, operating with extraordinary rapidity and with an effect still traceable . . . even in such obvious phenomena as the externals of plot and *dramatis personae*. Was this material Celtic, and if so, how did it come and whence? The answer to these questions cannot be rendered with confidence until a large number of individual documents have been particularly studied. The details may seem to be trivial, and the effort expended may appear disproportionate to the importance of the individual document that is under consideration. But this is a narrow and uninstructed view. . . . [Such studies] are merely contributions to a large induction which aims to determine the position of Celtic popular literature in the letters, and consequently in the life and culture, of the civilized world.

Chapter 2

Pwyll: The Tradition

1 *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, Everyman's Library, No. 97 (London, 1949), p. 5.

2 That is, since the publication of Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the *Mabinogion*, under the title *The Mabinogion from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest* (London, 1838-1840), stimulated widespread interest in the Old Welsh tales.

3 *The Mabinogion*, transl. by Lady Charlotte Guest, ed. A. Nutt (London, 1910), p. 323.

4 *The Mabinogion*, ed. A. Nutt, p. 332.

5 E. Anwyl, *Zeits. f. Celt. Phil.*, I (1896), 278; I. B. John, *The Mabinogion in Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance and Folklore*, No. 11 (London, 1901), p. 8; *Les Mabinogion*, trans. J. Loth, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1913), I, 43; W. J. Gruffydd, *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, pp. 14 ff.

6 John, *The Mabinogion*, p. 7; *The Mabinogion*, ed. A. Nutt, p. 331; Gruffydd, *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, pp. 43 ff.

7 *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, pp. 43 ff.

8 The process was perhaps not wholly chronological, with myth always preceding legend and folktale. Boas concluded from the study of myths and folktales of America "that the data show a continual flow of material from mythology to folk-tale and vice-

versa, and that neither group can claim priority." Franz Boas, *Race, Language and Culture* (New York, 1940), p. 405.

9 *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, p. 46.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

11 W. J. Gruffydd, *Rhiannon* (Cardiff, Wales, 1953), p. 2.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

13 W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy* (Cardiff, 1928); Proinsias MacCana, *Branwen Daughter of Llyr* (Cardiff, 1958).

14 E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1927), p. 69; Gruffydd, *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, p. 19; C. O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales* (London, 1924), pp. 95, 103-104.

15 John, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 18-19; I. Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (Dublin, 1944), p. 24; Cf. Gruffydd, *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, pp. 16 ff. Other ways in which correspondences between Welsh and Irish literature may be explained are stated by MacCana in *Branwen*, pp. 6-7.

16 *Ireland and Wales* (London, 1924), p. 96.

17 Ifor Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry*, p. 24.

18 *White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. G. Evans (Pwylheli, 1907), p. xxvi; Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy*, pp. 325-326; and *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (London, 1949), p. xii.

19 *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, p. xii. For a different explanation, see Rachel Bromwich in *Stud. in Early British History*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1959), p. 103.

20 R. Bromwich in *Stud. in Early Brit. History*, ed. N. K. Chadwick, p. 102; *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Ifor Williams (Cardiff, 1930), pp. xl-xli.

21 *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, pp. 63-64.

22 *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 180 ff.

23 *Les Mabinogion*, trans. J. Loth, 2d ed., I, 81-92; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*, pp. 21-22. See also S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, rev. ed., IV (1957), 382, Motif K 1311.1.

24 *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, p. 41.

25 *The Voyage of Bran*, ed. K. Meyer and A. Nutt (London, 1897), II, 13-18; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*, pp. 24 ff.; Myles Dillon, *The Cycles of the Kings* (London, New York, 1946), pp. 49 ff.

26 *The Voyage of Bran*, ed. Meyer and Nutt, II, 5, 22.

27 *Ibid.*, I, 42-45.

28 *Ibid.*, I, 70-73.

29 Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*, p. 29.

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30 Anwyl, *Zeits. f. Celt. Phil.*, I (1896), 288 ff.; Gruffydd, *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, p. 50.

31 R. S. Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend* (Cardiff, Wales, 1956), pp. 138 ff.; T. G. Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk-Custom* (London, 1930), p. 15. See also John, *Mabinogion*, p. 22.

32 *Les Mabinogion*, trans. J. Loth, 2d ed., I, 87.

33 Eleanor Hull, *Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1907), 155-156. Eleanor Hull makes the interesting comment that "the most permanent characteristics of the unseen world are those which formed part of the ordinary surroundings of any Irish dwelling of any rank. The pot or cauldron, the appletree in which birds sing, the vat of mead or ale, the hearth or fire, the harp giving music, were essentials without which the earthly home would have been imperfect. The transference of these things into . . . [the Irish] Elysium was natural and inevitable."

34 Hull, *Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1907), 151.

35 A. Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1907), 446. For meaning of the Welsh word *Annwn*, see Ivor B. John, in *Mabinogion*, ed. Nutt, p. 366: "The bottomless gulf; Hades"; E. Hull, *Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1907), 149: "Annwfn means 'very deep,' an 'abyss,' and nothing could be more unlike the cheerful descriptions given of the place in Welsh literature than such a title." For the conception of the Celtic Other World as a land of the dead, see for example J. Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), p. 140. For refutation of this idea, see K. G. T. Webster, "Lancelot and Guenevere," unpubl. Harvard dissertation (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 156-157; E. Hull, *Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1907), 121-165; A. Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1907), 445-448; R. S. Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, pp. 141-144.

36 Gruffydd, *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1912-1913, p. 70.

37 T. G. Jones, *Welsh Folklore*, p. 14; A. MacCulloch, *Celtic Mythology* (Boston, 1918), p. 94. See also H. M. Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge, 1932), I, 115. The authors, aware of the uncertainty of Pwyll's status, say that though Pwyll "is credited with no supernatural or magical powers," all his adventures are "abnormal"; his story cannot be classed as merely "heroic." Cf. Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*, p. 40.

38 *Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. H. I. Bell and David Bell (London, 1942), pp. 254-255.

39 *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, pp. 80-81.

40 *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 281.

41 *Les Mabinogion*, trans. J. Loth, 2d ed., I, 179.

- 42 *Ibid.*, I, 300, 301, n. 1. *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, ed. Owen Jones *et al.*, 2nd ed. (Denbigh, 1870), p. 127.
- 43 Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, p. 82. S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, rev. ed. (Bloomington, 1955-58), II, 463 (Motif E 501).
- 44 M. Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales* (London, 1909), p. 53.
- 45 Trevelyan, p. 48.
- 46 Trevelyan, p. 51.
- 47 Trevelyan, pp. 47, 53.
- 48 Trevelyan, p. 48. T. G. Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk-Custom*, pp. 46, 47, 402.
- 49 See Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, pp. 81 ff., for presentation of the evidence.
- 50 M. Trevelyan, pp. 25-26.
- 51 Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, p. 83.
- 52 Hull, *Folk-Lore*, (1907), 148.
- 53 *Ibid.*
- 54 See Professor Loomis's studies of the ford combat in *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, chaps. vi and vii, and *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes* (New York, 1949), *Pwyll* in Index.
- 55 Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, pp. 77-90.

Chapter 3

The Friendship Romances

- 1 *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. MacEdward Leach, EETS, OS, No. 203 (London, 1937), p. 124.
- 2 *Romanic Review*, X (1919), 131, n. 6.
- 3 *Romania*, LXVIII (1944), 172. Bar concluded that the author of *Pwyll* may have known the Welsh *Amlyn ac Amic*, and may have imitated and adapted it. This conclusion is untenable, since *Pwyll* is earlier than *Amlyn* and represents a more primitive stage of the tradition. *Amlyn ac Amic* is presumably a Welsh prose translation, with additions, of the Latin *Vita* (H. Gaidoz, *Rev. Celt.*, IV, 1879-1880, 202). Sir Ifor Williams dates the Four Branches ca. 1055-1063 (*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. I. Williams, Cardiff, 1930, pp. xl f). The earliest version of the *Vita* is of the twelfth century; the Welsh translation must be later than the composition of *Pwyll*. Moreover,

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the fact that *Pwyll* contains genuine and ancient Celtic material has been established (*Voyage of Bran*, ed. Meyer and Nutt, II, 13-18; W. J. Gruffydd, *Rhiannon* (Cardiff, 1953), *passim*). See also K. H. Jackson, *The International Popular Tale . . .* (Cardiff, 1961), pp. 62-84. Because of the early date of *Pwyll*, Jackson rejects, as I do, Bar's conclusion that the compiler of *Pwyll* may have known the Welsh *Amlyn*. My footnote was written before the publication of Professor Jackson's book—a valuable book that I should like to have been able to consult before completing my own.

4 See above, p. 16.

5 *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 79-95. Roger Bennett (*Speculum*, XVI, 1941, 55, n. 1) agreed with Professor Caldwell that there was "much in common between *Sadius and Galo* and other stories of friendship," but thought Caldwell went too far in suggesting "a definite, close relationship with *Eger and Grime*."

6 Kurt Ranke, *Die Zwei Brüder*, FFC, no. 114 (Helsinki, 1934). It may be noted that this study was published after Professor Caldwell's edition of *Eger and Grime*.

7 *Modern Philology*, XXXI (1933-1934), 324. See B. Heller, *Romania*, XXXVI (1907), p. 39, for references to "des rapports entre *Ami et Amile* et le conte des freres."

8 *Gualteri Mapes de Nugis Curialium*, ed. Thos. Wright (Camden Society, 1850). Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, XIV (Oxford, 1914). *Master Walter Map's Book "De Nugis Curialium" (Courtiers' Trifles)*, trans. F. Tupper and M. B. Ogle (London, 1924).

9 *PMLA*, XXXII (1917), 121-124.

10 *Courtier's Trifles*, trans. F. Tupper and M. B. Ogle, pp. 131-155.

11 *Eger and Grime*, p. 149.

12 *Amis et Amiles und Jourdain de Blaivies*, ed. K. Hofmann, 2nd ed. (Erlangen, 1882), pp. xxi-xxxii. *Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina*, ed. M. B. Ogle and D. M. Schullian, *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, VIII (1933), 256-267.

13 Ed. F. J. Mone, *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, 1836, 146-167.

14 *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. E. Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibliothek* (Heilbronn, 1884), II, 111-187. *Amis et Amiles und Jourdain de Blaivies*, ed. K. Hofmann, 2nd ed., pp. 1-101.

15 *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. MacEdward Leach, EETS, OS, No. 203, pp. ix-xiv.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-100.

17 See pp. 132-136 for bibliographical references.

18 J. Bédier, *Les Légendes Épiques*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1926-1929), II, 204.

Chapter 4

The Combat at the Ford

1 Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Diu Crône*, ed. G. H. F. Scholl (Stuttgart, 1852).

2 K. G. T. Webster studied the episode in *Diu Krone* and compared it with the ballad *King Arthur and King Cornwall* (*Englische Studien*, XXXVI, 1906, 340-351). He showed that there must have been an early tradition that Guinevere was the wife of another man before Arthur won her. As admiration for Arthur grew, this idea would become unpopular; Arthur would be regarded as the proper husband and the other suitor as a mere lover of the Queen. *King Arthur and King Cornwall* speaks of Arthur as "that kindly cockward." Persistence of the tradition that Arthur was cuckolded is witnessed by a nineteenth century story Stuart Glennie told of an old Scotsman with whom he talked near Linlithgow. The old man explained to Glennie that Cockleroy Hill was so named because "the king was cockled there." Asked what king he referred to, the old man replied that "King Arthur's wife was na' faithfu', an maybe it was her that was ouer cosh wi' anither man on the tap there." John S. Stuart Glennie, *Arthurian Localities* (Edinburgh, 1869), p. 47. When Lancelot became the lover of Guinevere and the refinements of *amour courtois* influenced the story, it became romantic material, but as Tom Peete Cross has said, not untouched by bourgeois moral standards. From the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, he says, tellers of the Arthur-Guinevere story have been attempting "to condone the conduct of a heroine whose character was framed originally in an ancient pagan world." T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze, *Lancelot and Guenevere* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 60-61.

3 *Der Lai de l'Epine*, ed. R. Zenker, *Zeit. für rom. Phil.* XVII (1893), 233-255.

4 *Frythes* here clearly means 'fords.' See Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, under *frith* (2) and under *ford*. HL in the corresponding passage has *ford*: "Un to a foord, and over I rode" (HL, vs. 125). When Grime goes to encounter Graysteel, the lines are as follows: "ouer the river were ryding places 2/& soone Grime chose to the one of tho" (P, vss. 937-938). Again, HL has *ford*: "But sought

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a foord" (HL, vs. 1460). See also E. Willson, "Celtic Parallels," p. 20.

5 See below pp. 56 ff.

6 French and Hale, (*Middle English Metrical Romances*, p. 701 (Note on vs. 942) follow E. Rickert (*Early English Romances . . . of Friendship*, p. 184) in explaining that if Graysteel waited until night, "Grime would not have the honor of fighting him at his strongest." This explanation does not preclude mine.

7 For significance of ceremonies held on St. John's Eve or St. John's Day, see E. S. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales* (London, 1891), pp. 249-250; J. M. Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* (Glasgow, 1893), pp. 283-284; T. G. Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk-Custom* (London, 1930), pp. 151-152; Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends . . . of Ireland* (Boston, 1888), p. 8; M. Wilczynski, *The Sources and Analogues of Chrétien's Yvain* (Chicago, 1943), pp. 75-76; R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition* (New York, 1949), p. 94, n. 47.

8 *Le Bel Inconnu*, a twelfth century French poem by Renaut de Beaujeu (ed. G. P. Williams, Paris, 1929) shows the influence of Welsh tradition throughout. Another episode besides the ford combat—the one in which the huntsman Orguillous de la Lande engaged in a dispute concerning his dog—is in fact related to the very ford episode in *Pwyll* with which we are concerned. Thus the evidence of this romance on the night combat is valuable. The encounter at the Ford Perilous between the hero and the three companions of Blioblieris takes place at night:

Avant doit venir la nuis obscure,
Si tornent au Gué Perillous . . . vss. 538-539
.....
Se aventure nes delaie,
Que le soir ne vieignent al Gué . . . vss. 544-545
.....
Li jors faut et la nuis revient,
La nuis obscure lor sorvient . . . vss. 547-548

The moon was shining brightly when the three knights came to the attack, and the battle with the knight of Graies lasted "Dusqu'al jor" (vs. 1157). And other ford combats having the *Pwyll* pattern were night battles. In *Diu Crône* (vss. 3571 ff.) and *De Ortu Walwanii* (*Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Waluuanii*, ed. J. D. Bruce, p. 86), the encounter at the ford was specifically by night. In *His-*

toria Meriadoci it presumably was also, since Meriadocus set out "sub ipso diei crepusculo" for his battle with the Black Knight of the Black Laund and apparently arrived promptly at the ford (p. 20).

9 See OED under *ferly* 3. The definition is "Strange, wonderful, wondrous, marvellous," and the line from *Eger* is cited (P, vs. 974): "His steed was of a furley kinde."

10 R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 131, points out an interesting parallel between the tabu in *L'Espine* and a story told by Marie Trevelyan (*Folk-lore and Folk-stories of Wales*, p. 64) concerning a water horse (*ceffyl-dwr*) on the shores of Carmarthen Bay. Miss Trevelyan says that a man once caught this *ceffyl-dwr* and led it home "by means of an artfully contrived bridle." He used it as a cart-horse until one day the bridle became unfastened. Then the *ceffyl-dwr* "darted with the cart and the driver into the sea, and was never afterwards seen." See also T. P. Cross, *Mod. Phil.* XII (1915), 606, n. 3, for bibliography of Celtic water horses, and 606, n. 4, and 631, and T. P. Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature*, Indiana Univ. Publs., Folklore Ser. No. 7 (Bloomington, Indiana, 1952), p. 63, Motif B181.3 and p. 101, Motif C918.

11 See Cross, *Mod. Phil.* XII (1915), 631, for examples.

12 On white, red-eared animals in Welsh and Irish story and in the romances, see Helaine Newstead, *PMLA*, LXI (1946), 939, n. 72, and R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 90 f. See also T. P. Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature*, p. 249, Motif F241.2.1.2., and p. 160, Motif D1500.1.38.

13 On the strange power of iron over fairies, see Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London, 1928), p. 134; C. Hole, *English Folklore* (New York, London, 1940), p. 127; W. Y. E. Wentz, *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries* (London, 1911), p. 276; Lewis Spence, *The Fairy Tradition in Britain* (London, 1948), p. 181. For an interesting explanation of this power, see W. J. Gruffydd, *Folklore and Myth in the Mabinogion* (Cardiff, 1958), pp. 12-13.

14 On the leading away of the defeated knight's steed by the champion, see R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 130 f.

Chapter 5

Loosepine, the Lady of the Thorn

1 W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* (London, 1902), II, 156.

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2 Wood-Martin, II, 156; Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland* (Boston, 1888), p. 246; Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London, 1928), p. 113; C. Otway, *Sketches in Erris and Tyrawley* (Dublin, 1841), p. 190.

3 Wood-Martin, II, 156; Lady Wilde, p. 246; Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*, pp. 134-135.

4 Wood-Martin, II, 22.

5 Lady Wilde, pp. 111-112.

6 Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-lore and Folk-stories of Wales* (London, 1909), p. 204.

7 T. G. Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk-Custom* (London, 1930), p. 11; J. M. Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* (Glasgow, 1893), p. 30; J. S. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable* (London, etc., 1932), pp. 26-27; Lewis Spence, *The Minor Traditions of British Mythology* (London, 1948), pp. 32-33.

8 *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, II, 156.

9 See, for example, C. S. Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, Part III (London, 1886), p. 420: "Who St. Hawthorne was I will not attempt to decide." See also R. C. Hope, *The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England* (London, 1893), p. 141.

10 Hope, pp. 9 ff; Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*, pp. 108, 111; M. A. Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore* (Penzance, 1890), pp. 32-34; Mackinlay, p. 145; W. C. Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore* (London, 1905), II, 381. For similar uncertainty about a fairy frequenting a Welsh lake, see Sir John Rhys, *Celtic Folklore* (Oxford, 1901), I, 371-375.

11 Hope, p. 10.

12 *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*, p. 33. The uncertainty concerning the saint is reflected even in books of the saints' lives. For example, Donald Attwater, *A Dictionary of Saints* (New York, 1926), p. 195, says, "Madron, or Madern, has given his name to a large parish near the Land's End but he has not yet been certainly identified." And Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, rev. by H. Thurston and N. Leeson (New York, 1925-1938), V, 219-220, notes, "There is considerable difference of opinion as to the identity of St. Madron . . . but an old custom of visiting the spring on the first Sunday in May for purposes of divination goes back to pagan times."

13 Ed. Sir Israel Gollancz (London, 1920).

14 *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, III (London, 1868), 57.

15 Ed. G. Schleich (Heidelberg, 1929).

- 16 Guillaume le Clerc, *Fergus*, ed. E. Martin (Halle, 1872).
- 17 *The Romance of Tristan*, by Béroul, ed. A. Ewert (Oxford, 1939).
- 18 Ed. Wendelin Foerster (Dresden, 1908), I, 206-278.
- 19 *Middle English Metrical Romances*, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale (New York, 1930), pp. 485-527.
- 20 *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, p. 94, n. 10. *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 129-131.
- 21 *Der Lai de l'Epine*, ed. R. Zenker, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII (1893), 233-255.
- 22 *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. H. C. Sargent and G. L. Kittredge (Boston, New York, 1904), no. 61, pp. 114-117; L. A. Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England* (New York, 1924), p. 317, noted this relationship; also 2nd ed. (New York, 1960), p. 317.
- 23 In *Sir Lionel* (Sargent and Kittredge, no. 18, pp. 33-36), a ballad similar in some respects to *Cawline*, the hero found his hunting horn hanging on a hawthorn when he came to a second combat with a giant. He blew the horn, and a lady who had been sitting in the tree came to him.
- 24 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Ferdinand Castets (Montpellier, 1893), pp. 23 ff. and pp. 45 f.
- 25 Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, p. 94, n. 10. In HL she is called *Lillias* by substitution of a familiar Scottish name for the unfamiliar *Loosepine*. See Ernest Weekley, *Jack and Jill* (New York, 1940), pp. 134-135.
- 26 Ed. William Roach (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 195 ff.
- 27 *The Vita Merlini*, ed. J. J. Parry, *Univ. of Illinois Stud. in Lang. and Lit.*, X (1925), 326, vss. 930-940; L. A. Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1960), pp. 45 ff.
- 28 *Lazamons Brut*, ed. F. Madden, III (London, 1847) vss. 28610-13.
- 29 *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, pp. 27-28.
- 30 *Legend of Sir Perceval* (London, 1906-1909), II, 207 f.
- 31 R. Thurneysen, *Die Irische Helden- und Königsage* (Halle, 1921), pp. 169-174, p. 176, n. 1; Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, p. 97.
- 32 Paton, pp. 48-166; Cross, *Mod. Phil.*, XII (1915), 605, n. 4; Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, pp. 117-119.
- 33 *PMLA*, LXI (1946), 933. Prof. Newstead notes, however

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(p. 933, n. 54), that Castets in his edition (p. 327) recognized "the essential identity" of Morgain and Oriande and wrote, "Notre trouvère a remplacé Morgain par Oriande."

34 Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, p. 108.

35 Paton, p. 250 and p. 250, n. 1.

36 Ed. Parry, vss. 920-921.

37 *Ibid.*, vss. 929-940.

38 *Lazamons Brut*, ed. F. Madden, III, 144, vss. 28613-16.

39 Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, ed. Mario Roques (Paris, 1952), vss. 4193-4204.

40 Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, ed. A. Leitzmann (Halle, 1939), p. 136, vss. 5221-22.

41 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Castets, p. 59, vss. 1794-97.

42 *Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. Pierre Ruelle (Brussels, Paris, 1960), vss. 3249 ff.

"Qui le cor ot et tentir et sonner,
S'il est malades, lues revient en santé;
Ja n'avera tant grande enfermeté.

Vss. 3253-55

43 Paton, p. 114; *I Complementi della Chanson D'Huon de Bordeaux*, I, *Auberon*, ed. A. Graf (Halle, 1878), vss. 1221-26; 1459-65.

44 Paton, p. 113; H. Newstead, *Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1939), pp. 111-114.

45 See Cross, *Mod. Phil.* XII (1915), 595, n. 3, for bibliography. See also T. Keightley, *The Fairy Mythology* (London, 1910), p. 354.

46 Ed. H. F. Williams (Ann Arbor, 1947), p. 54, vss. 549-553.

47 *Les Lais de Marie de France*, ed. Jeanne Lods (Paris, 1959), p. 67, vss. 55 ff.

48 W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (London, 1914), pp. 232-233; Willson, "Celtic Parallels," *passim*; Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England*, 2d. ed., p. 316; *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 124 ff.; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 144.

49 *Medieval Romance in England*, p. 316. *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 125 ff.

50 "Celtic Parallels," pp. 35-36.

51 "Celtic Parallels," pp. 62 ff.

52 *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 131 ff., 134 ff., 137 ff.

- 53 *Loth, Mabinogion*, 2nd ed., II, 284.
 54 Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 91, and for bibliography, p. 91, n. 35.
 55 Translated by T. Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk-Custom*, p. 107.
 56 *Loth, Mabinogion*, 2nd ed., II, 284.
 57 *The Didot Perceval*, ed. Roach (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 195 ff.
 58 R. S. Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, pp. 91-104.
 59 M. J. Hughes, *Women Healers in Medieval Life and Literature* (New York, 1943), p. 16. See also pp. 51, 54, 57.

Chapter 6

Winliane

1 This form consistently in HL; Winglaine (Winglayne, Winglanye) in P. In this name, HL, which I believe to be later than P, is closer to the tradition than P. A later version, of course, may frequently preserve an original form better than an intermediate version.

2 Ed. W. A. Nitze and T. A. Jenkins, I (Chicago, 1932), 26 ff.

3 Ed. J. D. Bruce, EETS, ES, No. 88 (London, 1903), vss. 18 ff. For similar "bolster conversations" in Celtic epic and classic story, cf. *ibid.*, p. 122, and *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Walwanii*, ed. J. D. Bruce (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1913), p. LX, n. 2. A similar domestic conversation between Arthur and Guinevere occurs in a fifteenth-century "Vasnacht Spill von König Artus," *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, Nachlese*, ed. A. von Keller (Stuttgart, 1858), no. 127, pp. 183 ff.—a poem that contains other significant traditional material. Although Guinevere did not point out to Arthur his lessening glory, she offered him good advice. In this scene the King and Queen were discussing the invitations to a feast at Court. Guinevere supplied Arthur with a list of guests, and suggested a method of extending the invitations. Arthur accepted her suggestions readily until she reminded him that they had forgotten to include his sister, the Queen of Cyprus (i.e., Morgain la Fée). He angrily refused to invite her to the feast.

4 Ed. G. L. Kittredge, [Harvard] Stud. and Notes in Phil. and Lit., VIII (1903), 150 and 212. For date see p. 264.

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5 *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. F. J. Child (New York, 1956), I, 283-284. For relation between Guinevere and King Cornwall, see K. G. T. Webster, *Englische Studien*, XXXVI (1906), 337 ff. The parallel between *King Arthur and King Cornwall* and the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne* has been frequently discussed. See *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. Child, II, 274 ff.; Gaston Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXX (Paris, 1888), 110-111; G. L. Kittredge, *Arthur and Gorlagon*, p. 212; K. G. T. Webster, *loc. cit.*; R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 134. The *Pèlerinage* begins with a scene between Charlemagne and his wife in which her taunts to him about a handsomer king than he are the occasion of his setting off on his adventures to the distant court of King Hugon. The scene in the *Pèlerinage*, early as it is, is apparently based on earlier Arthurian tradition. See also Margaret Schlauch, *Romance in Iceland* (Princeton, 1934), p. 164, for a parallel in the *Morkinskinna*, a thirteenth-century chronicle of Norwegian kings.

6 Ed. W. Foerster (Dresden, 1908), I, 476-482. Rhys considered that a dialogue printed in *Myvyrian Archaiology* (2nd ed., Denbigh, 1870), p. 130, was a dialogue between Arthur and Guinevere in which Guinevere taunted Arthur with his inferiority to Kei and his inability to make good his boasts: ". . . no disgrace like his who boasts and fails," etc. Rhys (*Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, pp. 57 f.) and Prof. T. Gwynn Jones (*Aberystwyth Studies*, VIII, 1926, 58-59) have translated one version of the poem, and Prof. Mary Williams has translated a second version (*Speculum*, XIII, 1938, 39 ff.). Professor Jones pointed out that in the reference to the small stature of Arthur and in other respects the poem is not in accord with traditions of Arthur, and Mary Williams has made clear that the name of Arthur does not occur in the manuscript, but was added by editors of *Myv. Arch.* Cf. also T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze, *Lancelot and Guinevere* (Chicago, 1930), p. 59, n. 3, and R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 197, n. 9.

7 J. R. Reinhard, Univ. of Michigan Publs. in Lang. and Lit., VIII (1932), 29-37. M. Schlauch, *Romance in Iceland*, p. 164. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 134 ff.

8 T. P. Cross and C. H. Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* (New York, 1936), pp. 471-487.

9 *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Walwanii*, ed. J. D. Bruce (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1913), p. XXIV.

10 *Ibid.*, p. LX, n. 2; pp. 85-88.

11 Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au Lion*, ed. Mario Roques (Paris, 1960); *Ywain and Gawain in Middle English Metri-*

cal Romances, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale (New York, 1930), pp. 485 ff.

12 Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 274-277.

13 W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (New York, 1914), pp. 232-233. Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England* (New York, 1924) and 2nd ed. (New York, 1960), p. 314. The couplet in *Ywain and Gawain* is as follows: And, by þe ded þat i sal thole, / Mi stede by his was but a fole (vss. 425-426).

14 For occurrences of the name *Gwenllian*, see J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, 3d ed. (London, 1939), II, Index under *Gwenllian* (several listings); *Les Mabinogion*, trans. J. Loth, 2d ed. (Paris, 1913), I, 284 (an occurrence in *Culhwch et Olwen*); *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. F. Dimock, VI (London, 1868), 270; *Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. A. Griscom (London, N.Y., 1929), p. 259; *Historia Regum Britanniae, A Variant Version*, ed. Jacob Hammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), p. 44, 2.100, *Gwenlliant* in MS C, *Guenlian* in MSS D, E, H.

15 Geoffrey uses it in *Vita Merlini* as the name of Merlin's wife and in the *Historia* as the name of the daughter of Corineus. See *Vita Merlini*, ed. J. J. Parry, Univ. of Illinois Stud. in Lang. and Lit. X (1925), No. 3, 1-138; *Historia Regum Britanniae . . .*, ed. Griscom, pp. 255, 256 and 256, n. 10, 257 and 257, n. 7. In *Geoffrey of Monmouth, A Variant Version*, ed. Hammer, MS C has *Gwendolena* (acc. case *Gwendolenam*) in 2.47 to 2.66 (pp. 42-43); MSS D, E, H have *Guendoloena(m)*. In *Itinerarium Kambriae* Giraldus twice uses it as the name of a Welsh princess (*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Dimock, VI, 15, n. 1; 79, n. 1; 270). Lot was therefore wrong in saying that *Guendoloena* occurs only in Geoffrey (*Annales de Bretagne*, XV, 1899-1900, 533 f.).

16 Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, XV (1899-1900), 534, n. 1. Loomis, *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 416 ff.

17 Ed. Dimock, VI, 15, n. 1; 79, n. 1.

18 *Ibid.*, VI, 270.

19 Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 19, n. 43, for bibliography. Cross and Nitze, *Lancelot and Guinevere*: "There can be little doubt that Professor Loomis is right in identifying the scene with an abduction of Winlogée or Guinevere" (p. 23).

20 J. Loth, *Chrestomathie Bretonne* (Paris, 1890), pp. 147, 175. See also Cross and Nitze, p. 58, n. 1.

21 R. S. Loomis, *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 421. For some of the more important studies in the discussion of the date of the Modena

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sculpture, see Loomis, *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 221-231 (supporting a date before Geoffrey). This article refutes G. H. Gerould, *Speculum*, X (1935), 355-376. See also R. S. Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend* (Cardiff, 1956), pp. 198-208. J. S. P. Tatlock questioned the well-supported date before Geoffrey in his *Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley, 1950), pp. 212-214.

22 *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, XXII (1898), 244, 246. Cross and Nitze: "Winlogée, a Breton name, occurs in the French form of Guenloie in the OF *Yder* . . .," p. 23.

23 *Der Altfranzösische Yderroman*, ed. H. Gelzer (Dresden, 1913), pp. LVI ff.; Cross and Nitze, p. 23.

24 R. S. Loomis in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* (Paris, New York, 1927), p. 222.

25 See above, pp. 89-91.

26 *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXX (Paris, 1888), 204 ff.

27 See W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonury* (Cardiff, 1928), p. 114, for "very important assumptions" that must be made concerning the process of transmission of traditional stories.

Chapter 7

Eger and Grime

1 In Version P; Grahame in HL.

2 *Der Altfranzösische Yderroman*, ed. H. Gelzer (Dresden, 1913). Gelzer dates the romance between 1205 and 1225.

3 See above, pp. 84-85.

4 "Winlogée ist sicher eine Dame, in französischer Namensform die bekannte Guinlöie." W. Foerster, *Zeit. für rom. Phil.* XXII (1898), 244. See also p. 246.

5 See, for example, T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze, *Lancelot and Guenevere* (Chicago, 1930): "Thus, it can hardly be doubted that Winlogée and Guenevere are parallel figures," p. 23.

6 *Der Altfranzösische Yderroman*, ed. Gelzer, p. xlvi. See also J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Baltimore, 1923), II, 220-221.

7 See above, pp. 85-87.

8 . . . "Qu'ele li a respondu folie:

.....
"Si mi sires Yder m'avereit,

C'est cil dont meins me desplareit." Vss. 5210, 5219-20.

9 *La Folie Tristan de Berne*, ed. E. Hoepffner, 2d ed. (Paris, 1949), pp. 41-42. See Gaston Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1888), XXX, 204 ff.; *Der Altfranzösische Yderroman*, ed. Gelzer, pp. lvi ff.; R. S. Loomis, *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 419; Cross and Nitze, *Lancelot and Guinevere*, p. 23.

10 *Histoire Littéraire . . .*, XXX, 214.

11 See below, n. 14. An example of the riming of *Eger* with *bachelor* in both P and HL versions (*bachlour*, P, vs. 26; *Batcheler*, HL, vs. 22) suggests a palatal *g* in *Eger*, though the rime would not be perfect.

12 See *Christian von Troyes, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. W. Foerster, III (Halle, 1890), 302.

13 See above, pp. 123-124.

14 This substitution of the spelling *Eger* would then have been suggested by the eye rather than the ear, since the city and river in Bohemia would have been pronounced with a hard *g*. I am indebted to Professor Albert H. Marckwardt of the University of Michigan and Professor Emeritus Bernard Fay of the University of Colorado for consultation on the pronunciation of these names.

15 Raoul von Houdenc, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. M. Friedwagner, II (Halle, 1909).

16 *Trespas* may mean any sort of passage (F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de L'Ancienne Langue Française*, 10 vols., Paris, 1880-1902). Whether here "le trespas" may mean 'ford' or not, Guengasouain seemingly guarded a ford, for he met Gawain at a ford and retreated across it.

17 Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Diu Crône*, ed. G. H. F. Scholl (Stuttgart, 1852). See above, pp. 42-44.

18 *Der Altfranzösische Yderroman*, ed. Gelzer, p. lxxvi. *La Vengeance Raguidel*, ed. Friedwagner, p. cxcv. See pp. cxiv-cxv for discussion of the identity of Guengasouain and Gasozein, with bibliography.

19 See K. G. T. Webster, *Englische Studien*, XXXVI (1906), 347.

20 See, for example, C. L. Ewen, *A History of the Surnames of the British Isles* (London, 1931), p. xi.

21 E. Brugger, *Zeit. für franz. Sprache und Literatur*, XXXI² (1907), 127, n. 5. *Christian von Troyes, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. W. Foerster, IV (Halle, 1899), cxiv.

22 See above, p. 8.

23 *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border*, rev. W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1895), II, 124. The earliest references

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to the poem agree in calling the hero Grime rather than Grahame: *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (1549) gives the title of the romance as "syr egeir and syr gryme" (ed. J. A. H. Murray, EETS, ES, London, 1872, XVII, 63). Lyndsay's *Squyer Meldrum* (1550) has "Sir Gryme aganis Graysteill" (ed. F. Hall, EETS, XXXV, London, 1868, 357-358). John Taylor (1623) referred to the hero as "Sir Grime" (*Works of John Taylor . . .*, Spenser Soc. Pubs., vols. 2-4, Manchester, 1869, p. 176).

24 Even greater than the variety of these forms is the variety of spellings of *Gawain* in the OF romance *Yder* (ed. H. Gelzer, p. lxxii) and in Middle English romances, some of these differences indicating also differences in pronunciation. This variety may heighten the possibility of substitution. See R. W. Ackerman, *An Index of the Arthurian Names in Middle English* (Stanford, 1952), pp. 101-102. For example, Professor Ackerman records fourteen different forms of *Gawain* in *Gawain and the Green Knight* alone.

25 *The Anglo-Norman Peaceful Invasion of Scotland, 1057-1200, Origin of Great Scottish Families* (Edinburgh, 1922), pp. 68-69. See also George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946), p. 323.

26 Quoted by Black, p. 329.

Chapter 8

Graysteel

1 *Arthur and Gorlagon*, [Harvard] Studs. and Notes in Phil. and Lit., VIII (1903), 265 f.

2 Rudolf Thurneysen, *Irische Helden-und Königsage* (Halle, 1921), p. 431. J. Baudis discussed "a very old stratum of folklore" that intrudes into the historical background of the Ulster cycle. *Ériu*, VII (1914), 200-209.

3 *Ériu*, II (1905), 18.

4 Thurneysen, pp. 431 ff.

5 *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (Dublin, 1944), p. 24; Cecile O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales* (London, 1924), pp. 127-128; T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze, *Lancelot and Guinevere* (Chicago, 1930), p. 41, for bibliography.

6 G. L. Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, Mass., 1916). Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*. 2d ed. (New York, 1960), II, 427-429, 528-537. J. R. Hulbert, *Mod. Phil.*,

XIII (1915), 55 ff. Buchanan, *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 331 ff. Cross and Nitze, *Lancelot and Guinevere*, 38-41, 47 ff. R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1927); *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), 1000 ff.; *Arthurian Tradition*, 207 ff., 280 ff.

7 Thurneysen, pp. 441-442; R. I. Best, *Ériu*, II (1905), 18 ff.

8 *OED* defines *rowed* as 'having stripes of a specified colour' and quotes the lines from *Eger* to illustrate, giving the reference as follows: *Percy's Folio MS., Ballads and Romances*, I, 391. But the quotation errs in connecting the line with the preceding verse instead of with the following: "The red blood in her face did rise; /It was red rowed for to see." A longer quotation would make clear that the reference is to the hand:

when shee looked on that hand . . .
the red blood in her face did rise:
it was red rowed for to see,
with fingers more than other three.

P, vss. 1177, 1180-82.

Moreover, the reader for the dictionary might have noticed that the description occurs twice (vss. 1181 and 1217-18) only a few lines apart, and that the second time the meaning is not in doubt:

She cast out the hand & the gloue of gold;
all had Marueill did it behold,
for it was red rowed for to see,
with fingers more than other 3.

P, vss. 1215-18.

9 Edith Rickert, *Early English Romances in Verse . . . Romances of Friendship* (London, N.Y., 1908), p. 184; Elizabeth Willson, "Celtic Parallels . . .," Unpubl. diss. (Chicago, 1914), pp. 45 ff.; Laura Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England*, 2d ed. (New York, 1960, p. 316; R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth . . .*, p. 86; *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, Introd., pp. 111-120; *et al.*

10 *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 115, 120.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

12 H. M. Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick, *Growth of Literature* (Cambridge, 1932), I, 235-236; J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 133 ff.; M.-L. Sjoestedt, *Dieux et Héros des Celtes* (Paris, 1940), p. 59; Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York, 1951), p. 384.

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- 13 *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 127.
- 14 *Early Irish Hist. and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), p. 271.
- 15 A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1914, 1925, 1940), 3 vols. J. Déchelette, *Manuel D'Archéologie Préhistorique Celtique et Gallo-Romaine*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1908-1934). P. Lambrechts, *Contributions à l'Étude des Divinités Celtiques* (Bruges, 1942).
- 16 Lambrechts, pp. 71-72.
- 17 *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, XXV (1904-1905), 252.
- 18 R. L. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 41 ff.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 49 ff. *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 208 f.
- 20 *Fled Bricrend*, ed. G. Henderson (London, 1899), pp. 101, 103, 113, 118 f.
- 21 Paul Sébillot points out that peasants believe the earth alone is fixed; the sun moves. *Le Folk-Lore de France*, I (Paris, 1904), 37.
- 22 *Ibid.*, I, 36. F. M. Luzel, *Contes Populaires de Basse-Bretagne* (Paris, 1887), I, 3 ff. Cf. T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History . . .*, pp. 250 f.: "The sun is not only the giver of light and warmth, but also the speedy and unwearied traveller who circles the world each day. The swiftness of the sun and its long and regular journeyings made a deep impression on the minds of our early forefathers."
- 23 *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson, pp. 46, 116. R. Thurneysen, *Irische Helden-und Königsage*, pp. 443, 445.
- 24 *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson, p. 127.
- 25 *Manuel*, II, 480. See also Lambrechts, 75 f.; Cook, *Zeus*, I, 337, 611, and especially II, Pt. 1, 840 ff.
- 26 Luzel, I, 3-65; Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, I, 36 ff.
- 27 See Robin Flower, *The Irish Tradition* (Oxford, 1947), *passim*.
- 28 Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 192, n. 47, for bibliography.
- 29 Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edinburgh, 1868), I, 529. And cf. Sébillot, I, 36 f., and Luzel, I, 101 ff., 270 ff., for Breton stories in which adventurers seek the sun to ask him why he is red in the morning, and similar questions.
- 30 *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1927), p. 74.
- 31 *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXX (Paris, 1888), 36.
- 32 *Mort Artu*, ed. J. D. Bruce (Halle, 1910), p. 288.
- 33 *Ibid.*, pp. 287-288, and R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 165, n. 13, for bibliography.
- 34 Ed. B. Woledge (Paris, 1936), pp. 1-80 (vss. 1-2524).
- 35 *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugène Vinaver, rev.

ed. (London, 1959), pp. 235-242; p. 250: "I am called the Red Knight of the Rede Laundis, but my name is Sir Ironsyde."

36 Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 86.

37 *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, Introd., p. 117.

38 Chrétien's *Erec* describes a battle between Erec and Mabonagrain, a tall knight wearing red arms, whose strength and breath give out after the hour of *none* so that he admits he is defeated. The cause of the battle is Mabonagrain's challenge to Erec for having dared to approach his damsel—a lady whom Erec had come upon in the shade of a sycamore tree. Though this incident may well be related to the others here considered, it does not keep the obvious pattern of correspondences found in the three Arthurian versions and their Irish prototype. Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, ed. Mario Roques (Paris, 1952).

39 *Early Irish History . . .*, p. 314.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 321.

41 Laura Hibbard (*Medieval Romance in England*, p. 317) pointed out that in the related ballad Sir Cawline, the hero, with a similar 'aukeward' (backward) stroke, cut off the hand of the eldritch king.

42 *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed. H. Oskar Sommer, 7 vols. and Index (Washington, 1908-1916), IV, 114, 135-137.

43 *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Waluuanii*, ed. J. D. Bruce (Göttingen, Baltimore, 1913), pp. 67 ff.

44 See R. S. Loomis, *JEGP*, XLII (1943), 157, n. 34, for reasons for supposing that the damsel who gave Lancelot the sword in *Vulgate Lancelot* was named Floree. This name would be an additional link with the Blathnat abduction, since Blathnat's name means 'Little Flower' (Thurneysen, *Irische Helden-und Königsage*, p. 436).

45 *Works*, ed. Vinaver, rev. ed., pp. 101-107; *Merlin, Roman en prose . . .*, ed. G. Paris and J. Ulrich, II (Paris, 1886), 201-208.

46 Ed. E. Björkman (Heidelberg, N.Y., 1915), vss. 4202 ff., 4324-25, pp. 124, 127.

47 *Amis et Amiles*, ed. K. Hofmann, 2nd ed. (Erlangen, 1882), pp. xxi-xxxii. Translated in *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. Leach, EETS, OS, no. 203 (London, 1937), pp. 101-105.

48 *Amis and Amiloun*, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, ed. E. Kölbing (Heilbronn, 1884), II, 127.

49 There are other relationships that, I think, establish an

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influence of Curoi traditions upon *Amis and Amiloun*, but they are not directly relevant to this discussion.

50 "Gryme, if thou wilt fight with Sir Graysteele,
Thou had neede of weapons that stand wold weele."
P, vss. 543-544.

51 Elsewhere in P called Egeking, vss. 593, 598, 602, etc.

52 In *Sir Eglamour*, the lady gave Eglamour an invincible sword from "The Greekes See" to aid him in performing a task necessary to win her (*Thornton Romances*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, London, 1844, p. 132, vss. 265 ff.).

53 French and Hale define 'prince' as 'princess' and say, "Prince frequently feminine throughout the Middle English period," p. 690 n. The OED gives *prince* "applied to a female sovereign," but the first example given is for the year 1560. Though this is unsatisfactory, the meaning 'princess' seems a necessary reading for this line.

54 *Middle English Metrical Romances* (New York, 1930), p. 690 n.

55 French and Hale, pp. 287-320. *Sire Degarre*, ed. G. Schleich (Heidelberg, 1929).

56 R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 326 f.

57 T. P. Cross and Clark Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* (New York, 1936), 128 ff., 172 ff.

58 John of Salisbury in his description of how Harold was sent by King Edward to subdue the Welsh, tells us that Harold reached Snowdon and laid waste the whole country. As one of the repressive measures praised by John, Harold established a law that any Briton found in possession of a weapon beyond the Foss of Offa should have his right hand cut off by the King's officials. (*The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, trans. J. Dickinson, New York, 1927, p. 195.) The impression made upon the Welsh by this law may well account for the motif of the cut-off hand that turns up in *Eger* and *Cawline*. While the stories were in the Welsh stage of transmission, the detail may have been added to the Welsh ford combat, and from Wales may have reached the Breton *conteurs* and later the romances.

59 E. Wilson, "Celtic Parallels," p. 47. Joseph Dunn, *Ancient Irish Epic Tales, Tain Bó Cúalnge* (London, 1914), p. 78. Cross and Slover, pp. 151, 154. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, rev. ed. (Bloomington, 1955-1958), III, 166 (F552.1.1.).

60 H. C. Sargent and G. L. Kittredge, *English and Scottish*

Popular Ballads (Boston, 1904), p. 116. *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, Introd., pp. 60, 162, n. 51.

61 Ed. M. Friedwagner (Halle, 1909).

62 *Early Irish History and Mythology*, pp. 303-304.

63 *Ibid.*, pp. 305-306.

64 E. Wilson, "Celtic Parallels," p. 48. R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 315.

65 Cf. HL, vss. 1628-30.

66 *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson, p. 89; *Voyage of Mael Duin*, ed. Whitley Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, IX (1888), 447 ff.; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 315 f.

67 *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, Everyman's Library (London, 1949), p. 5.

68 *Science of Folklore* (London, 1930), p. 298. *Revue d'Ethnographie*, VI (1925), 432 ff. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index*, rev. ed., I, 534 (C742.1).

69 *Motif-Index*, rev. ed., III, 378 (H57.2).

70 *Eger and Grime*, ed. from Bishop Percy's Folio MS . . . by J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall (London, 1867), p. 351; *Early Popular Poetry* . . . , ed. David Laing, rev. by W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1895), II, 130; F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (New York, 1956), I, 209; Elizabeth Willson, "Celtic Parallels . . . ," pp. 51-54; *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell, Introd., pp. 51-54.

Chapter IX

The Land of Beame

1 J. C. Halliwell, in his edition of George Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, London, 1848, p. 546, n., said the name of this kingdom was "probably a corruption of Bohemia"; Edith Rickert, too, said "probably" Bohemia (*Early English Romances . . . of Friendship*, London, 1908, p. 120); W. H. French and C. B. Hale say, "It has been supposed to be Bohemia" (*Middle English Metrical Romances*, New York, 1930, p. 672). On the other hand, Ellis thought Bohemia was a wrong explanation (see Halliwell's edition of Ellis's *Specimens*, p. 546. n.); O. Lengert suggested that Bealm might be identified with Belnam, or Beaune or Bearn (*Engl. Stud.*, XVII, 1892, 377); French and Hale quote as a possibility Malory's explanation of Benwick that "somme men call it . . . Beaume, where the wine of Beaume is," p. 672.

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2 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Vols. IV and VI (London, 1877, 1882); Willelmi Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1865); *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. C. Babington, Vol. I. (London, 1865).

3 *The Works of John Taylor*, Spenser Society Publications, Vols. 2-4, ([Manchester], 1869), p. 582.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 579.

5 Anthony Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford*, composed in 1661-1666, ed. by A. Clark, I (Oxford, 1889), 184. In spite of its thorny style the passage in Wood is of interest here: "The various wayes that this hall hath bin written by hath given occasion to divers to take them for several:—viz. 'Aula Boemii' as one of our bookes of Epistles hath; then Bohemiae, as if the schollers of that nation resided here before the University of Prague was established according to the supposition of some of this University that have bin wel seen in antiquities; 'Beam Hall' . . . and 'Aula Trabinia' or 'Trabina,' as our registers for the most part have . . . ; 'Beni [?Bem] Hall,' in S. Frideswyde's great leiger book; and lastly 'Beme Hall,' as the book of Osney with divers other scripts. But all of them wheresoever they are written . . . seeme according to the scituation of it therein expressed to be one and the same hall." Cf. R. F. Young, *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1923), 72 ff., and C. E. Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford* (London, 1924-1927), I, 240, n.1.

6 French and Hale, *Middle English Metrical Romances*, p. 672: "The Land of Beame is a conventional land of romance, now unidentifiable." It should be noted that *Roswall and Lillian*, a romance that has other similarities to *Eger*, has a king of Bealm, and that much of the action of the poem takes place in Bealm. Ed. David Laing, Edinburgh, reprinted 1882; O. Lengert, *Englische Studien*, XVI (1892), 321-356.

7 Cf. G. Reichel, *Engl. Stud.*, XIX (1894), 30: "Vaclaw ist wohl die residenzstadt des lordes Diges [i. e., in HL; Bragas in P]."

8 The transference of place names to persons is frequent in Arthurian romance and is familiar in the Elizabethan dramatists. See *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Waluuanii*, ed. J. D. Bruce (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1913), p. XLVII, n.1.

9 *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, 158-159.

10 The suggestion was made in Chapter VII that the name *Eger* was substituted for *Yder*, since Sir Eger appears to have fallen heir to traditions of *Yder*. The substitution may well have been made by the poet or minstrel who wished to add a pleasing touch

of the exotic to the romance by the addition of Bohemian names. If so, the substitution was deliberate, possibly suggested by a rough similarity between the two names. See p. 91.

11 Roman Jakobson in a personal letter said, "Bragas could have been suggested by the Latin form *Praga* or the German form *Prag* [Prague]." See also J. G. T. Graesse, *Orbis Latinus* (Berlin, etc., 1909), p. 246.

12 Earl Diges (HL) is evidently a corruption or substitution.

13 Other names perhaps from Central Europe are Olyes (suitor of Winliane), Palyas (brother of Grime in P; of Eger in HL), and Egram (P) or Agam (HL). Henry Earl of Derby on both of the expeditions mentioned later in this chapter went to Dantzic. On the first journey he went on horseback from Putzig to Dantzic. The Crusaders would have been very likely to pay a visit at the Cistercian monastery at Olyva, or Oliva (*Orbis Latinus*, p. 229), very near Dantzic. On the first journey he stayed three days at nearby Dantzic; on the second he spent a fortnight there (*Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby*, ed. L. T. Smith, Camden Soc. Publs., N.S., 52, pp. xxviii, xlvi). Indeed, Henry and his English retinue could hardly have failed to visit Olyva. Earl Olyes (P) or Olyas (HL) may very well be the Knight of Olyva. The name *Palyas*, Roman Jakobson suggested, may have its origin "in the Czech archaic locative form *Polás* which means 'in Poland.'" Egram, or Egramye (P), or Agam (HL), uncle of Eger, may possibly have been the Knight of Agram (Zagreb), an important city in Croatia.

14 *Polychronicon*, ed. C. Babington, pp. 256-259.

15 For cultural relations between Bohemia and western Europe, see S. Harrison Thomson, *Bulletin of the Polish Inst. of Arts and Sciences*, II (1944), 298 ff.; *Speculum*, XXV (1950), 1-20. For influence of Wyclif, see Otakar Odložilík, *Slavonic . . . Review*, VII (1928-1929), 634-648. For influence of these relations on English literature, René Wellek, *Slavonic . . . Review*, XXI (1943), 114ff.—a valuable study to which I am considerably indebted.

16 *Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. E. Hoepffner, *SATF* (1911), II, 209 f.; V. Černý, *Staročeská Milostná Lyrika* (Prague, 1948), pp. 195, 200 ff.

17 *The Poems of Lawrence Minot*, ed. Joseph Hall, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1914), No. VII, vss. 107-108.

18 Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, 2nd ed. VII (London, 1728), 282.

19 *Ibid.*, VII, 290 ff., 331 f.

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20 *The Chronicles of Froissart*, trans. Lord Berners, ed. W. P. Ker, III (London, 1901), 274.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 275.

23 *Ibid.*

24 Constantin Höfler, *Anna von Luxemburg* (Vienna, 1871), p. 157.

25 *Froissart*, trans. Lord Berners, ed. Ker, V (London, 1902), 420.

26 *Ibid.*, V, 422-423.

27 *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed. J. L. Lumby (London, 1895), II, 151; Rymer, *Foedera*, 2nd ed., VII, 337-338.

28 "Quis numerare queat numerum turbæ numerosae,
Quæ velut astra poli densius inde fluit?"

Richard de Maidstone in *De Concordia inter Ric. II et Civitatem London*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1838), p. 33.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 34. Also *Chaucer's World*, compiled by Edith Rickert, ed. C. C. Olson and M. M. Crow (New York, 1948), p. 36.

30 See, for example, Evesham, Monachus de, *Historia Vitæ et Regni Ricardi II*, ed. T. Hearn (Oxford, 1729), pp. 125-126. Evesham expresses the sorrow of those of high rank (*procures*) and low (*plebei*) at the Queen's death.

31 Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, new ed., II (London, 1842), 363. But see H. Norris, *Costume and Fashion* (London, New York, 1927), II, 253, for a different opinion about the date of this headdress.

32 Strickland, II, 364. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, I, 421. Georgiana Hill, *A History of English Dress* (London, 1893), I, 62, n.

33 Evesham, Monachus de. *Hist. Vitæ et Regni Ric.* II, p. 126: "Cum ista Regina venit de Boemia in Angliam abusiones illæ execrabiles, sotulares sil. cum longis rostris (Anglice *Cracowys* vel *Pykys*) dimidiam virgam largiter habentes, ita ut oporteret eos ad tibiam ligari cum cathenis argenteis, antequam cum eis possent incedere." See also Höfler, *Anna von Luxemburg*, p. 226.

34 Norris, *Costume and Fashion*, II, 253, 274.

35 *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, Vol. II, *EETS*, LXXXII, 1901, Book VIII, vss. 2470-71.

36 For interesting speculation on the influence of Bohemian illumination on English art about the time of Richard's marriage to Anne, see Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (London, etc., 1954), pp. 173-174 and 225: "... probably shortly

before or after Richard's marriage in 1382, . . . the so-called *Liber Regalis* was made. . . . The technique, the figure types, and the colouring all suggest the style of Bohemian illumination of the late fourteenth century, and it seems likely that some artist in the large train of Anne of Bohemia when she came to England painted the miniatures."

37 For argument supporting this position, see especially Aage Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1925), pp. 161-165.

38 For a summary of various theories of allegorical interpretation of the *Parliament*, with bibliography, see *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1957), pp. 791-792.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 839-840.

40 J. L. Lowes, *PMLA*, XXIII (1908), 285-299.

41 J. L. Lowes, *MLN*, XIX (1904), 240 ff. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1863-1864), II, 46. But see W. C. Curry, *MLN*, XXXVI (1921), 272-274; W. J. Wager, *MLN*, L (1935), 302-306; J. Parr, *PMLA*, LX (1945), 315.

42 *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed. Lumby, II, 151; J. Parr, *PMLA*, LX (1945), 317; *Canterbury Tales . . .*, ed. J. M. Manly (New York, 1928), Notes, pp. 548-549.

43 O. F. Emerson, "A New Note on the Date of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*," in *Stud. in Lang. and Lit. in Celebration of the Seventieth Birthday of James Morgan Hart* (New York, 1910), pp. 203-254; repr. in *Chaucer Essays and Studies* (Cleveland, 1929), pp. 123-173.

44 *Froissart*, trans. Berners, ed. Ker, III, 274.

45 *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II*, ed. Edouard Perroy, Camden Third Series, Vol. XLVIII (London, 1933), No. 33, p. 20.

46 Glossed "Warsaw" by Perroy, but wrongly so, Professor Otakar Odložilík tells me.

47 *Correspondence of Richard II*, ed. Perroy, No. 57, pp. 35-36.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 193.

49 *Ibid.*

50 F. M. Bartos, *Cechy V Dobé Husově* (Prague, 1947), p. 101.

51 See S. H. Thomson, *Speculum*, XXV (1950), 1-20.

52 *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, III (Prague, 1882), 348: "Idioma quoque Boemicum ex toto oblivioni tradideramus, quod

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post redidicimus, ita ut loqueremur et intelligeremus ut alter Boemus."

53 Bartos, p. 250.

54 Johannis Capgrave, *Liber De Illustribus Henricis*, ed. F. C. Hingeston (London, 1858), p. 99; *Expeditions . . . made by Henry Earl of Derby*, ed. L. T. Smith, Camden Society, N. S., LII, 264-272; also li.

55 *Expeditions . . . made by Henry Earl of Derby*, ed. Smith, pp. liii-liv.

56 *Ibid.*, p. lvi, 190-191.

57 *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280.

58 *Expeditions . . . made by Henry Earl of Derby*, ed. Smith, pp. 264-272; l-liv.

59 I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Roman Jakobson of Harvard University and Professor S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado for suggestions made to me in the preparation of this chapter. To Professor Otakar Odložilík of the University of Pennsylvania, my thanks are also due for assistance most generously given.

Chapter X

Conclusion

1 For a more complete account of the oral diffusion of the Arthurian legend, see Roger S. Loomis in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. S. Loomis (Oxford, 1959), pp. 52-63.

2 See above, pp. 19-20.

3 Cecile O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales* (London, 1924), p. 96; C. H. Slover, Univ. of Texas Stud. in English, No. 6 (1926), pp. 5-52; No. 7 (1927), pp. 5-111.

4 R. S. Loomis, *Mod. Phil.*, XXXIII (1936), 228.

5 Helaine Newstead, *Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1939).

6 W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy* (Cardiff, 1928), pp. 253, 260-271; R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1927), pp. 7, 11-15, 22, n. 36; Loomis, *Mod. Phil.*, XXXIII (1936), 229.

7 Joseph Loth, *Contributions à l'Étude des Romans de la Table Ronde* (Paris, 1912), pp. 103-104; Loth, *Romania*, XIX (1890), 456-458; J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Göttingen, 1890), pp. 1-2.

gen and Baltimore, 1923), I, 41, n.9, 51; Loomis, *Mod. Phil.*, XXX-III (1936), 229.

8 H. Zimmer, *Zeits. für franz. Spr. und Lit.*, XIII (1891), 58-73; Bruce, I, 178-180; Loomis, *Scotland and the Arthurian Legend*, Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. LXXXIX, Session 1955-1956.

9 Loth, *Contributions*, pp. 63-64; F. Lot, *Romania*, XXX (1901), 1, 13; Bruce, I, 21-22.

10 See Christian von Troyes, *Der Karrenritter*, ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1899), pp. CXI-CXVII, for summary of the Breton influence.

11 Wace, *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. I. Arnold (Paris, 1938-1940), II, 515-516, vss. 9751-52, 9795-99; E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1927), pp. 102-103.

12 *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. Wm. Stubbs (London, 1887-1889), I, 11, Lib. I, paragraph 8.

13 *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, IV (London, 1873), 49, Dist. II, Ch. IX.

14 H. Zimmer, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, 785 ff.; E. Brugger, *Zeits. für franz. Spr. und Lit.*, XX¹ (1898), 79 ff.; XLIV² (1917), 78-87. Cf. F. Lot, *Romania*, XXIV (1895), 497 ff. for objections to Zimmer, answered by Brugger in the articles cited.

15 Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. J. Bédier (Paris, 1892-1895), II, 122-123; Bruce, I, 186.

16 F. Lot, *Romania*, XXV (1896), 588-590.

17 Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, pp. 805 ff.

18 J. L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, I (London, 1906), 265.

19 See above, p. 162, n. 21, and Loomis, ed., *Arthurian Lit. in the Middle Ages*, pp. 60-61.

20 Loomis, ed., *Arthurian Lit. in the Middle Ages*, pp. 55 ff.

21 R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 38 ff.

22 Christian von Troyes, *Der Karrenritter*, ed. W. Foerster, p. CXIV; Lot, *Romania*, XXV (1896), 588.

23 Cecile O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales* (London, 1924), pp. 127-128.

24 *Arthur and Gorlagon* [Harvard] Stud. and Notes in Phil. and Lit., VIII (1903), 240.

25 R. S. Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 194 ff., 197.

26 Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 196-197.

27 Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 199-200.

28 *Middle English Metrical Romances* (New York, 1930), pp.

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694, 469. But note that H. O. Sommer in *La Morte Darthur*, by Syr Thomas Malory (London, 1889-1891), II, 168, lists *Kaynes* as one form of Kay's name: "Kay, Kaynus, Kaynes, syr, son of syr Ector, seneschal of kyng Arthur."

29 *Lazamons Brut*, ed. Frederic Madden (London, 1847), III, vss. 27921-22.

30 A later reference to "Gallias" occurs in HL, vs. 2635: "In all Gallias is not such ten, / As they be fiftie Gentle-men."

31 J. D. Bruce, *Evolution*, I, 422; II, 172, 340. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 483.

32 The nearly identical couplet occurring in *Ywain and Gawain* and *Eger* (first noted by L. Hibbard, *Med. Rom. in Eng.*, 2nd ed., New York, 1960, p. 314) has been mentioned (*Ywain*, vss. 425-426; *Eger*, P, vss. 119-120). There seem to be some verbal parallels also between *Eglamour* and *Eger*. Compare, for example, *Eglamour* in *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall (London, 1867), II, 346—

& then said that Ladye bright,
"how fareth Sir Eglamore my Knight,
that is a man right ffaire?"
"for soothe, Layde, as you may see"—

and *Eger*, P, vss. 451-453—

shee saies, "How doth that wounded Knight?"
Then answered Gryme both wise & wight,
"he doth, Madam, as yee may see."

Roswall and Lillian, a romance that long remained popular in Scotland, has some similarities to *Eger*, including action in the land of Bealm. Ed. O. Lengert, *Englische Studien*, XVI (1892), 321-356.

33 E. Weekley, *Jack and Jill: A Study in our Christian Names* (New York, 1940), pp. 134-135; J. Coutts, *The Anglo-Norman Peaceful Invasion of Scotland, 1057-1200, The Origin of Great Scottish Families* (Edinburgh, 1922), pp. 68-69.

34 H. A. Basilius, *Mod. Phil.*, XXXV (1937-1938), 133; *Eger and Grime*, ed. J. R. Caldwell, Introd., p. 156.

35 See above, p. 145, n. 21; *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border*, ed. David Laing, rev. W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1895), II, 121; Donald Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue . . . 1641-1700* (New York, 1945-1951), II, 192, Items H2139, H2140.

36 *The Writings of James Russell Lowell* (Cambridge, 1890), III, 310.

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The following list does not include all works cited in the notes. For example, dictionaries are generally not listed, including dictionaries of surnames, place names, saints' lives, and topographical dictionaries, nor are general bibliographies, nor books of costume, nor books and papers cited for comments on the literary quality of *Eger and Grime*. Bibliographical data for all of these are given in the notes where the titles occur. On the other hand, collections of folktales consulted, editions used in references to romances cited as analogues, and in general, all primary sources are included, as well as other books and papers of special interest for this book.

Abbreviations

CFMA	Classiques français du moyen âge
EETS	Early English Text Society
FFC	Folklore Fellows Communications
MP	Modern Philology
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
SATF	Société des anciens textes français
ZCP	Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie
ZFSL	Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur
ZRP	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

Eger and Grime—Extant Editions

Percy (P) and Huntington-Laing (HL) Versions

Eger and Grime, A parallel-text edition of the Percy and the Huntington-Laing Versions of the Romance, with an Introductory

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